ΘEOMAXIA;

OR

THE GRAND IMPRUDENCE

of men running the hazard of

FIGHTING AGAINST GOD,

In suppressing any Way, Doctrine, or Practice, concerning which they know not *certainly whether it be from God or no.*

Being the substance of two Sermons, Preached in *Colemanstreet*, upon occasion of the late disaster sustain'd in the West.

With some necessary Enlargements thereunto.

By JOHN GOODWIN, *Pastor of the Church of God there.*

HEB. 10. 31.

It is a fearefull thing to fall into the hands of the living God.

MAT. 21. 44.

Whosoever shall fall on (or, stumble at) *this stone, shall be broken in pieces.*

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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

READER;

WE have an Engliſh ſaying, that *the burnt childe dreads the fire*. I have oft been caſt into the fire of mens zealous indignations, by an uncleane ſpirit of calumnie and ſlander; Some have reported, that I deny juſtification by Chriſt, *i.* that the Sun is up at noone day; Others, that I deny the immortalitie of the ſoule, *i.* that I murthered my father and my mother; Others, that I have preached againſt the Parliament and Aſſembly, *i.* that I am out of my wits, and weary of my preſent life, and careleſſe of that which is to come. I perceive there are more Sons of *Belial*, then thoſe that witneſſed againſt *Naboth*, that *he blaſphemed God and the King*. 1 King. 21. 10.
But having no vineyard to accommodate any man, I cannot eaſily conceive, what men and their tongues meane to be ſtill up in ſuch unchriſtian conteſtations with me; except this be it; Becauſe I ſpeak the *truth*, and men are not able to beare it; therefore they reſolve (it ſeems) to make me ſpeak ſuch *untruths*, that I my ſelfe ſhall not be able to beare. I confeſſe, I doe not much dread this fire, made of the tongues of aſps and vipers, not becauſe I have not been ſufficiently burnt by it, but partly becauſe I have been a long time accuſtomed to ſuch burnings, and have found them rather purifying, then conſuming: partly, becauſe the great Apoſtle informs me, that the way by which he paſſed into his glory, was *through honour, and diſhonour, through good report, and evill report*. 2 Cor. 6. 8.
Yet nevertheleſſe, I had rather give an account of mine own words, then of other mens pretending to be mine; and ſo to keep out of the fire, as farre as the peace and ſafety of my own ſoule and other mens, will ſuffer me. And this is the true account (Reader) of the publiſhing of theſe Sermons, which (haply) had not been an action ſo neceſſary otherwiſe. Underſtanding that the ſoule ſpirit, which hath for ſeverall years haunted my

miniſtery, was beginning to practiſe upō [illegible] ſermons alſo, I thought it the ſafer courſe of the two, to put my ſelf into the hands of the Truth (which yet perhaps will not much befriend me neither, in the thoughts and hearts of men, though with God, I am certain, it will) then to expoſe both it and my ſelfe to be rent and torne by him. What good, or hurt, they will or are like to doe, now they are gotten abroad, is not eaſie, either for thee, or me, ſo much as to conjecture. Be it in this, as God and men ſhall agree. When the danger of the diſeaſe runs high, there is little hope but onely in that phyſicke, whereof there is ſome feare. We are under a bondage of much miſery, and it is onely the
Joh. 8. 32. *Truth* (as our Saviour ſaith) that can *make us free*: and yet ſuch is our condition and miſery, that there is cauſe to feare, leſt the Truth, which onely is able to *make us free*, ſhould increaſe our bondage and miſery, by being rejected and oppoſed by us, when it comes in love and mercy to *viſit* us, and to *bleſſe* us out of our miſery. *For this end I was borne* (as our Saviour ſaith of himſelf, *Joh.* 18. 37.) *that I ſhould beare witneſſe to the truth*, not to the opinions or apprehenſions of men. In which reſpect I know I am like to have the harder quarter and ſervice in the world; but God hath made me a lover of men in ſuch a degree, that I can willingly conſecrate my ſelfe unto their ſervice, through any ſufferings from them. If this world faile me, I know God hath prepared another for a reſerve, which will ſtand by me, and will not faile. Reader, take my prayers along with thee, and an honeſt heart of thine own; and ſo paſſe on to the Sermons before thee; doubtleſſe they will either ſtrengthen thy hand in the way thou art in, or guide thy feet into a way thou art not in, or at leaſt qualifie thy ſpirit with chriſtian patience and reſpects towards ſuch a way.

From my ſtudy in *Colemanſtreet*, *Octob.* 2. 1644.

Thine with an upright and ſingle heart in Chriſt Jeſus,

JOHN GOODVVIN.

Θεομαχία,

OR

The Grand Imprudence of men, running the hazard of *Fighting againſt God*, in ſuppreſſing any Way, Doctrine, or Practice, concerning which they know not certainly whether it be from God, or no.

ACTS 5. 38.

And now I ſay unto you, Refrãine your ſelves from theſe men, and let them alone: for if this counſell or work be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, yee cannot deſtroy it, leſt yee be found even fighters againſt God.

WHen the Children of *Iſrael*, in the progreſſe of their Warres upon the *Canaanites*, wherein God had promiſed to be with them, and to give them ſucceſſe, and that a man of their enemies ſhould not be able to ſtand againſt them: notwithſtanding they fought under the protection of many ſuch promiſes as theſe, yet met with a diſaſter and loſſe, thirty ſix of them being ſlaine by the men of *Ai*, and the reſt of the partie ingaged in that ſervice put to gout, and chaſed by their enemies: God himſelfe upon the great dejection and ſolemne humiliation of the Elders of *Iſrael*, and *Joſhua* their Generall, was pleaſed to make knowne unto him by ſpeciall revelation, what root of bit-

 terneſſe

terneſſe it was that brought forth this fruit of death, what ſin by name it was amongſt them, that had ſeparated between him and them in their late ſad miſcarriage, yea, and would ſeparate ſtill, to their further and greater miſery, except they took a courſe to make an atonement for themſelves, by purging and clenſing themſelves from it. Onely the diſcovery or finding out of the perſon that had committed the ſin, was put upon *Joſhua* and the people; wherein yet againe they were directed by God to ſuch a method or means for this diſcovery, that God himſelfe may be ſaid too to have diſcovered even the ſinner alſo. For he it was, that by a ſpeciall directing hand of his providence, cauſed the lot to fall upon *Achan*, who was the man that in taking the *excommunicate thing*, had ſin'd that great and ſpeciall provocation, which was fallen in this guſt of wrath from Heaven upon the people. Theſe things you ſhall finde related more at large *Joſh.7.* From which paſſages by the way (amongſt many other very obſervable) you may take knowledge of theſe three things.

Firſt, That when God is at any time ingaged, and his hand in (as we uſe to ſay) ſhewing mercy and doing good to his people, he is ſeldome or never wont to change or alter the tenour of his preſent diſpenſations, to break off the courſe of his grace by ſuffering evill to come upon them, but upon ſome ſpeciall diſcontent taken, from ſome ſpeciall ſin or other, one or more, committed by them.

Secondly, That ſometimes the ſin of one or of ſome few, in a great ſocietie or body of people, in the provocation or guilt of it, redounds and runs over to the involving and defiling of the whole ſocietie, and rendring all the members thereof obnoxious to the diſpleaſure of God.

Thirdly, That the beſt, if not the onely way for the people of God, being under the diſfavour of God, and ſtroke of his diſpleaſure, to make atonement for themſelves, and to recover his favour, is to make diligent ſearch and ſtrict inquiry, what that ſin by name ſhould be, which hath turned away the heart of their God from them, and accordingly to remove it.

My Brethren, the caſe of the Children of *Iſrael* upon their loſſe neere unto the Citie of *Ai*, is our condition and caſe at this day; ſave onely that the hand of God hath been laid heavier upon us, then

then it was upon them, in that breach. God had begun to doe great and gracious things for us, yea he had gon on for a good ſpace together, treading and trampling downe the ſtrength of our Enemies under us apace; inſomuch, that wee began to take our Harps down from the willow trees, on which we had hung them, to prepare our ſelves to ſing *the ſong of Moſes, the man of God:* but loe on the ſuddaine wee are *ſmitten* back againe *into the places of Dragons*, and the God of our lives *hath covered us with the ſhadow of Death*. That viſion of peace and good things which was let downe from heaven unto us, and was come ſo neere us, that wee began to ariſe, thinking none other but to fall to and eate preſently; is now againe taken up from us into the heavens, and we have loſt the ſight of it. The beſt art and wiſdome we can uſe to open the heavens over us, and cauſe them to deliver downe that treaſure againe to us, to heale our preſent wound, if it be not deadly, is to make as narrow a ſearch, as ſtrict an inquiry, as we can, what that particular and ſpeciall ſin or provocation amongſt us is, the chaſtiſement whereof is now upon us, and which hath brought the rod of this indignation upon our backs. If God himſelfe would pleaſe by ſpeciall revelation to make knowne what this ſin is, as he did unto *Joſhua* and the people of *Iſrael*, ſatisfaction in this point were at hand, nor ſhould we need to abide the various and conjecturall diſcourſes of men, Miniſters or others, about the matter: But having perfected that ſtanding Revelation of himſelfe, the Scriptures, he refraines revelations extraordinary, and leaves his people to conſult with theſe Oracles of his for reſolution, in all ſuch caſes of Queſtion and difficulty as this; onely promiſing the gracious aſſiſtance and guidance of his Spirit unto thoſe that ſhall aske it of him, and not lay ſtumbling blocks in their way otherwiſe, to direct them in ſuch dark and dubious inquiries as theſe. And one ſpeciall end (I conceive) aymed at by that Authority, which hath ſet apart this day for a ſolemne humiliation of our ſelves before God, was, that Miniſters and people ſhould joyne together in fervent prayer and ſupplication unto God, that the one may be directed to make a true and unpartiall diſcovery of this ſinne, and the other judge of the diſcovery being made accordingly: that ſo the troubler of *Iſrael* being found out, execution may be done, and God pacified. In conſideration whereof it is,

that I made choice of the Scripture read unto you, upon the preſent occaſion; Conceiving that very ſin to be there deſcribed, yea, and expreſſed by name, (though ſomewhat more generall) which hath occaſioned the ſad interruption of late made in our hopefull proceedings, yea, and which in all likelihood wrought againſt us formerly, both in that blow which was reached us from heaven, in that as ſtrange, as ſorrowfull a defeat at *Newarke*, and otherwiſe; but was not then known or conſidered of. The Lord grant that yet at laſt it may enter into all our hearts to conceive aright, and to conſider of it, leſt it brings forth yet againe like bitter fruits, yea, and magnifies it ſelfe at laſt in our utter ruine and deſtruction.

But let us addreſſe unto the words; and in them conſider, firſt, their relation and coherence in the Context, and then their ſenſe and meaning. For the former; the words are part of a ſpeech made by one *Gamaliel* (as he is called *ver.* 34.) a Phariſee, and Doctor of the Law, in an Aſſembly or Councell at *Jeruſalem*. The Councell (as appeares *ver.* 21. &c.) was called, about the Apoſtles, their Doctrine and proceedings; the chief deſigne and intendment of it, was to conſider and reſolve what courſe to take with them, how to ſuppreſſe both them and their Doctrine, being both looked upon as prejudiciall to their perſonall and private intereſts, both of honour and profit, in that State and Nation; and as likely to carry away the hearts and affections of much people from them. When they had ſent for *Peter* and the other Apoſtles by a Captain with his Officers, to appeare before the Councell, the Prolocutor or chief Prieſt, charged them after this manner: *ver.* 28. *Did not we ſtraitly command you, that you ſhould not teach in this Name? and yee have filled Jeruſalem with your Doctrine, &c.* When *Peter* and the other Apoſtles, ſtanding ſtiffe to their tackling, had made their anſwer, fully juſtifying what they had done, and given a brief accompt of that Doctrine about which they were queſtioned, and of their calling to preach and beare witneſſe of the ſame unto the world; it is ſaid (*ver.* 33.) that the Councell, ſeeing them upon thoſe termes, hearing them ſpeake at ſuch a rate, *burſt in ſunder for anger* (as the former tranſlation) or (as the latter hath it) *were cut at the heart, and took counſell how to ſlay them.* What? would they not ſubmit to the Authority and advice of ſuch a Reverend, learned,

learned, and pious Aſſembly as that? Did they thinke themſelves wiſer then they? would they preach a Doctrine that ſhould aſperſe them, and bring them out of credit and requeſt with the people? Such men as they were not meet to be *tolerated* in the State, nor yet to live; and therefore they would fall upon ſome courſe, how to free themſelves, the State and Nation of them, and that muſt be in no lighter way, with no lower hand, then death it ſelfe, they muſt die for it. This (it ſeems) was the ſenſe and reſolution of the generality of the Aſſembly, untill one of them, (that *Gamaliel* we ſpeake of) a man of a better temper and deeper reach then his fellowes, excited to ſpeak, and aſſiſted in ſpeciall manner by God in ſpeaking, by a grave Speech tending to moderation, qualified their ſpirits in part, and brought them to accept of ſomewhat a lighter attonement from the Apoſtles, for their ſuppoſed ſin, then their lives would have amounted unto. For their ſpirits were ſo full of bitterneſs and indignation againſt them, that notwithſtanding all that *Gamaliel* could ſay, they were reſolved to have their peniworths of them, (as we uſe to ſay) to eaſe themſelves on them ſo far, as to cauſe them to be beaten, and withall, ſeverely to charge them the ſecond time, to give over preaching their erroneous and dangerous Doctrine, *to ſpeak no more in the name of Jeſus, ver.* 40. What the tenor of *Gamaliels* Speech was, from the begining to the end of it, you may read, beginning at *ver.* 35. untill the end of 39. *Men of Iſrael, take heed to your ſelves, what yee do to theſe men*; as if he ſhould have ſaid, yee will but run a needleſſe hazard of bringing evill, or ruine upon your ſelves by attempting any thing for the preſent, in a way of violence againſt theſe men; implying, that men had need take heed how they ingage themſelves to ſuppreſſe, moleſt, or deſtroy any generation or ſort of men whatſoever, untill they have a cleer and expreſſe warrant from heaven for the execution. To perſwade them not to be too precipitate or forward in any courſe of violence againſt the Apoſtles, he declares to them by a double inſtance (well known unto themſelves) that if they be ſeducers and evill men, and ſo worthy to be deſtroyed, God himſelf would in a ſhort time, reveal his wrath from heaven againſt them, and bring them and their work to ruin. For thus he had done both formerly by one *Theudas*, and more lately by *Judas* of *Galilee*; who projecting great matters for themſelves

ſelves, without any warrant or authority from God, though they went on, and ſeem'd for a while to proſper in their way, drawing great numbers of people after them, were yet, both they and all their complices and followers, by a ſpeciall hand of God ſcattered and brought to nought. Upon the mention of theſe two memorable examples of Divine juſtice againſt Seducers and Deceivers, he infers as followeth in the words read unto you.

And now I ſay unto you, Refraine from theſe men, and let them alone, &c.

This for the coherence.

For the ſenſe of the words (briefly) Refrain from, ἀπόστητε ἀπὸ, that is, ſtand, or keep off from them, depart from them, go yee your way, and let them go their way; καὶ ἐάσατε αὐτούς, let them alone, or ſuffer them, that is, (as ſome underſtand it) do not only forbeare perſecuting of them your ſelves by your authority, but be no occation that the *Roman* power any wayes interpoſeth to moleſt them: do not betray them into the hand of violence otherwiſe; or elſe the doubling of the caution, may import the weightineſſe of the matter in his apprehenſion that ſpeaketh. However, by this double Caution or Item he gives unto them, not to have any thing to do (for the preſent) with the Apoſtles, in any way of moleſtation, he diſcovers an utter averſeneſſe in him to ſuch proceedings. Wherefore he gives this reaſon further.

For if this counſell or work be of men, it will come to nought] *i.* If the deſign which theſe men drive, with the method, courſe and means whereby they carry it on, hath no better foundation to bear it up, but either their own wiſdomes, intereſt, and authority, or ſome other mens, καταλυθήσεται, it will be diſſolved, or come to nought, it will ſoon diſcover its originall by its end, if it were taken out of the duſt, to duſt it will return; and they that are ingaged in it, will fall and ſink with it. *But if it be from God*] *i.* If it be countenanced or authorized by God, if he be the Founder of it; *Yee cannot deſtroy or diſſolve it, leſt, &c. i.* you muſt not, or you ought not, to attempt any thing againſt it to deſtroy or diſſolve it, becauſe by ſuch an attempt as this, you will do no better then *fight againſt God. Yee cannot*] *viz.* lawfully, or wiſely, or upon any good ground. There is a double impotency, or impoſſibility often mentioned in Scripture; the one we may call *naturall*, or *phyſicall*, the other *moral*

rall. With the firſt kinde of impoſſibility, things are ſaid to be unpoſſible, when there wants a naturall or executive principle of ſtrength or power in any kind to do them: with the latter, that is ſaid to be unpoſſible for a man to do, for the doing wherof he hath no ground or warrant either in the Word of God, or in reaſon or equity, though he hath never ſo much naturall ſtrength or power to do it. Of this latter kind, the Apoſtle *Paul* ſpeaketh, 2 *Cor.* 13. 8. where he ſaith, *that hee could do nothing againſt the truth, but for the truth*; meaning, that he had no ground or warrant, either from God, or otherwiſe, to do any ſuch thing. So again, 1 *Cor.* 10. 21. *Yee cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of the Devill*; *i.* yee cannot do it *lawfully*; or with any congruity either to the principles of Chriſtianity, or of ſound reaſon. Of this kind of impotency or impoſſibility, that common ſaying in the Civill Law ſpeaketh, *Id tantum poſſumus, quod jure poſſumus.* Of the other kind, we have many inſtances alſo; *I ſpake to thy Diſciples to caſt him out, but they could not* (*Mar.* 9. 18.) *i.* they wanted an executive principle or power, whereby to do it: otherwiſe it was lawfull enough for them to have done it. So again, *Mar.* 6. 19. and *Mar.* 2. 4. beſides many other.

Deſtroy or diſſolve it] *i.* do or attempt any thing to deſtroy it. Not only the endevours and attempts, but even the purpoſes and intents of doing things, are often in Scripture expreſſed by words, which properly ſignifie the doing or effecting the things themſelves. *Many good works* (ſaith our Saviour, *Joh.* 10. 32) *have I ſhewed you from my Father: for which of theſe works do you ſtone me?* *i.* do you intend, or go about to ſtone me? for they had not yet actually ſtoned him. Thus *Heb.* 11. 17. *Abraham* is twice ſaid to have *offered up his ſon Iſaac*, becauſe he was fully intended, and had attempted to offer him. Beſides many the like: So here, *you cannot deſtroy it*, *i.* you ought not, you cannot with reaſon go about or attempt the deſtroying of it.— *Leſt you be found even fighters againſt God*; meaning, that in caſe the Doctrine and way of thoſe men, againſt whom they were incenſed, ſhould be from God, and they nevertheleſs ſeek to deſtroy them, they would by ſuch a courſe daſh themſelves againſt ſuch a ſtone as would break them to pieces; they would *be found even to fight againſt God.* That cauſall particle, *leſt*, doth not alwayes note a hazard, or uncertainty of an effect

effect or consequent; but many times signifies as much as ἵνα μὴ, *ut non*, and is us'd as well to signifie the dependance as well of a certain and necessary, as of a contingent effect, upon its cause: [a] So here, *you cannot destroy it, lest you be found, &c.* i. if you attempt to destroy it, *you will be found, &c.*

[a] See Mat. 4. 6 and Mat. 13. 15.

Be found] The word εὑρεθῆναι *to be found*, in such a construction as this, oft notes the unexpectednesse of somewhat befalling a person, whether in respect of his own, or other mens expectations. Thus it is said of the Virgin *Mary*, that before *Joseph* and she came together, εὑρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα, *she was FOUND with child*, meaning, beyond, or contrary to expectation. So *Luk.* 9. 36. whereas *Moses* and *Elias* were immediately before the voyce from heaven, taken notice of by the Apostles to have been present with Christ upon the mount, as soone as ever the voyce was past, it is said of him, εὑρέθη μόνος, *he was found alone*, to imply that *Moses* and *Elias* were withdrawn before the Apostles were aware, or thought of it. To passe by other instances for this importance of the word; it is said of *Babylon* the Great (*Rev.* 18. 24.) *that in her was found* (εὑρέθη) *the blood of the Prophets, and of the Saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth*; meaning, that whereas this City had till now thought her self the most religious City under heaven, the Mother and Patroness of Prophets and Saints, an enemy only unto Heretiques and persons hatefull unto God; now when God came to call her to an account, and to *enter into judgement with her*, contrary to her expectation and opinion of her self, she was discovered and evicted to have been the most cruell and bloody enemy that ever *Prophets* or *Saints* had, yea, and further, a principall Actress in the slaughter of many millions otherwise. So *Gamaliel*, expressing himself thus to the Councell, *lest you be FOUND even fighters against God*, gives them to understand, that how holy, wise, or just soever they might seem in their own eyes, yea, and might think themselves the furthest of any men under heaven from practising or *fighting against God*, yet if they went on with their present intentions and resolutions against the men they had now before them, they might fall into this heavie guilt and condemnation, when they thought least of it. The heavinesse of which guilt is further implyed, in that emphaticall particle καὶ, *even, even fighters against God*; which particle of speech in such constructions as this, is intensive in an high

high degree, and ſtill imports ſomewhat very remarkable in what is joyned with it. In ſuch an importance as this, you ſhall find it uſed, *Matth.* 12. 8. *for the ſon of man is Lord* καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου, *even of the Sabbath*; meaning, that this was a very tranſcendent Lordſhip indeed, and ſuch as was inconpatible unto any, but unto him who need count it no robbery to be equall with God. So *Mar.* 13. 22. and elſewhere. Thus *Gamaliel* admoniſhing his Colleagues, to conſider well what they did, *leſt they ſhould be found* EV EN *fighters againſt God*, plainly intimates unto you, that this is one of the worſt ſtones in the world to ſtumble at, and that no improvidence or inconſiderateneſs whatſoever beſides, is like to make any ſuch breach upon the comfort and peace of the creature, as for men to ingage themſelves in any ſuch action or courſe, wherein they ſhall be found fighters againſt God.

Θεομάχοι, *Fighters againſt God*]. Every act of ſin, eſpecially with knowledge and conſent of will, is (in a ſenſe) a *fighting againſt God*: but that ſin which *Gamaliel* here intends in his expreſſion of *fighting againſt God*, is a ſin of an higher nature then ordinary, as appeares by the particle καὶ, *even*, joyn'd with it, and formerly opened. Therefore by *fighting againſt God* (in this place) muſt needs be meant ſome high and peremptory action or ingagement of the creature, wherein it oppoſeth God in ſome ſpeciall or remarkable deſign, which he ſeeketh either to ſet on foot, or elſe to carry on in the world, whether the oppoſer knowes it to be a deſigne of God's or no. And thus the propagating of that Doctrine, which the Apoſtles preached, being a deſigne of God, the oppoſition of the councell againſt it, eſpecially with ſo high an hand as the cruſhing, or ſlaying of the Apoſtles, who were appointed by God to publiſh it, would have been, was, and would have been very properly, *a fighting againſt God.*

The words explain'd, are matter ready prepared for Doctrine and obſervation. Onely one word (by the way) for Anſwer to that Queſtion; What authoritie, weight, or credit, is to be given to that which *Gamaliel* delivers in this ſpeech of his to the Councell? Whether may we build upon every thing, or any thing, ſpoken by him, as authorized by God?

I anſwer;

1. That there is little queſtion to be made, but that the Spirit

of the man, was in ſpeciall manner touch'd and ſtirr'd up by the Spirit of God, to interpoſe in the behalfe of the Apoſtles, as he did; as the ſpirit of *Nicodemus* (another branch of the ſame root) formerly had been, to ſtand up and ſpeake in the behalfe of Chriſt, *Joh.* 7. 51.

2. The principall end and ſcope of what he ſpake, being the reſcuing of the Apoſtles from the bloudy Counſells of thoſe who had concluded their death, and were conſulting about the execution; plainly ſheweth, that there was more of God then ordinary in the thing, eſpecially if we conſider further, that he who thus inexpectedly appeared with ſhield and buckler for the Apoſtles defence, was of that ſect or generation of men, who generally hated and oppoſed the Doctrine of Chriſt with more inveterate and viperous malignitie of ſpirit, then any other.

3. Evident it is, 1. that the intent, end, and ſcope of *Gamaliel* in this ſpeech to the Councell, being the bringing of the Apoſtles from the bloudy rage and violence of men, was good, and agreeable to the will and word of God. And 2. as evident likewiſe it is, that the ſpeech it ſelfe, in the whole carriage, and in all the paſſages of it, is duly, and with all exactneſſe of wiſdome and prudence, proportioned to the end, and tends in a direct and regular way to effect it. Now whatſoever directly and regularly tends to the effecting of that which is good, muſt needs be good, and conſequently from God. That which is good may occaſionally and by ſome collaterall influence of Providence, be brought to paſſe, by means that are evill; but in a regular and direct way, it can onely be produced by that which is good. There is no more friendſhip or fellowſhip naturally, between good ends and ill means, then is between *light and darkneſſe, Chriſt and Belial.* But

4. (and laſtly) There being nothing in all this ſpeech (excepting onely the hiſtoricall inſtances, the truth of which, it ſeems, was generally knowne among the *Jews*, and is atteſted by *Joſephus* their great Hiſtorian) but what is fully conſonant with the word of God, (unqueſtionably ſo acknowledged) elſewhere, the credit and authority of it, for matter of truth, is one and the ſame with thoſe other Scriptures correſponding with it. *What we here learne* (ſaith *Gualter* upon the place) *ſhould be unto us as an Oracle, viz. that the counſells of God are not to be defeated or hindred by any ſtrength*

Interim oraculi inſtar nobis eſſe debet, quòd Dei cõſilia nullis hominũ viribus impedire poſſe, humana verò ſuâ ſponte collabi diſcimus. Gual. Homil. 37. in Act.

ſtrength of man; but *for the counſells of men, they fall, and ſink, and come to nothing of themſelves.*

In the words, there be theſe ſix enſuing Points of Doctrine, faire and large, beſides many others of a more collaterall and illative obſervation.

Firſt, From thoſe words, *ver.* 38. *And now I ſay unto you, Refraine from theſe men, and let them alone: for, &c.* Obſerve, that *it is a point of much wiſdome to forbeare the oppreſſion, or ſuppreſſion of ſuch perſons, Doctrines, and wayes, which men have any reaſonable cauſe at all to judge or thinke, that they are, or may be, from God.*

Secondly, From thoſe doubtfull expreſſions of ſo great a Doctor of the Law, and one that knew how to meaſure and eſtimate the Authoritie and weight of a Councell-determination, and beſides can no wayes be ſuſpected of any diſaffection or prejudicatenesſe againſt ſuch Authoritie, from thoſe doubtfull expreſſions (I ſay) of this man, *If this counſell or work be of men, &c.* And againe, *If it be of God, &c.* Obſerve, That *the determination of a Councell, or of the major part of a Councell againſt a way, Doctrine, or practice, is no demonſtrative or ſufficient proofe for any wiſe man to reſt or build upon, that ſuch a way, Doctrine, or practice, are not from God.* The whole Councell, as you heard, this one man excepted, had peremptorily concluded the Doctrine and practice of the Apoſtles, to be, not from God, but from men, and thereupon were in high conſultation to ſuppreſſe them, and that by death; yet all this did not ſatiſfie *Gamaliel* in point of judgement or conſcience, he was ſtill but where he was, doubtfull and in ſuſpence with himſelfe about the buſineſſe.

Thirdly, From that clauſe, *If this counſell or work be from men, it will come to nought*] Obſerve, that *every invention, contrivance, way, or device of man, eſpecially in things either appertaining or pretending to appertaine unto God, in matters of Religion, will in time weare out into nothing and be diſſolved.*

Fourthly, From the Connexion or dependance between the former and latter parts of *ver.* 39. *But if it be from God, ye cannot deſtroy it, leſt, &c.* Obſerve, That *for any man, or men, to attempt the ſuppreſſion of any Doctrine, way, or practiſe that is from God, is to fight againſt God himſelfe.*

Fiftly, From that ſignificant phraſe or expreſſion, of being

FOVND fighters againſt God, ver. 39. Obſerve, *that many, who poſſibly for the preſent may conceive and thinke, and that with much confidence, that they fight for God, when the truth comes to an impartiall and perfect ſcanning, will be found to have fought againſt him.*

Sixtly, (and laſtly) From the importance and weight of that emphaticall particle, *even*, in the laſt clauſe, *Leſt yee be found EVEN fighters againſt God*; Obſerve, that *fighting againſt God, is a moſt dangerous poſture or ingagement, for a creature to be taken or found in by God at any time.* The dread and terror of ſuch a miſpriſion as this, is the baſe and ground-work upon which *Gamaliel* builds the fabrick of that important counſell and advice, which he gives unto his fellows, thoroughout his diſcourſe or ſpeech made unto them.

We ſhall for the preſent (paſſing by all the reſt) pitch upon that Doctrine mentioned in the fourth place, the tenor and effect whereof was this; *That for any man to endeavour or attempt the ſuppreſſion of any Doctrine, practice, or way, which is from God, is to fight againſt God himſelfe.*

For the ſenſe and true import of the Doctrine, I ſhall need to adde little beyond what was ſaid, in explication of the words; here we briefly ſhewed what was meant by fighting againſt God. I now onely adde this, (which is ſomewhat more particular) that it is not every degree or kind of oppoſing a way, Doctrine, or deſigne of God, which either the text, or the Doctrine calleth *a fighting againſt God*; but onely ſuch an oppoſing which is peremptory, and carried on with an high hand, ſo that thoſe Agents or Inſtruments of God, which he hath anointed to hold forth that way, Doctrine, or Deſigne of his in the world, are not ſuffered to execute their Commiſſion, but are countermanded either by the Authoritie or over-bearing ſtrength and power of men. It is one thing to oppoſe, or contend againſt a Doctrine or way of God, *per modum Doctoris*, as when a Miniſter through a miſtake or weakneſſe of judgement, pleads for *Baal* againſt God, preacheth error up, and truth downe, which may befall the beſt and faithfulleſt of men: another, to doe it *per modum Judicis*, as when men will aſſume an Authoritative power, whether Eccleſiaſtique or Civill, to ſuppreſſe or ſilence the publiſhing, practiſing, arguing, or debating of ſuch wayes or Doctrines, with the judgements and conſciences

of

of men. It is true, even this kind of oppoſing them, is ſometimes incident to men otherwiſe upright in the maine before God: but the children of this contention and conteſtation againſt their Maker, muſt expect to be taught more wiſdome and reverence towards him, with briars and thornes. If men fight againſt God after any ſuch manner as this, upon ſuch termes as if they were Gods too, this will ingage him to take up armes alſo in his own defence, and provoke him to fight againſt thoſe, who fight againſt him. This for opening the Doctrine.

For the confirmation of the truth of it, wee ſhall not need to cauſe many Scriptures to labour: the word will be ſufficiently eſtabliſhed in the mouth of two or three of theſe Witneſſes. *Why doe the Heathen rage,* (ſaith *David*) *and the people imagine a vaine thing? The Kings of the Earth ſet themſelves, and the Rulers take counſell together againſt the Lord and againſt his Anointed, ſaying, Let us break their bands aſunder, and caſt away their cords from us,* &c. Thoſe expreſſions, of *raging, ſetting themſelves, taking counſell together againſt the Lord and his Anointed*, amount every whit as much as to a *fighting againſt the Lord.* And what was it, that the *Heathen, people, Kings, and Rulers of the Earth*, did, or attempted to doe *againſt the Lord and againſt his Anointed*; (meaning Chriſt) Was it any thing elſe but to quench that fire, which Chriſt (as himſelfe ſaith) *came to kindle*, to ſuppreſſe the Goſpel, to cut off thoſe wayes of righteouſneſſe and holineſſe from the knowledge and practiſe of men, which are therein recommended and held forth unto the world? Theſe are the *bands*, which they *ſet themſelves* thus *to cut aſunder*, and the *cords*, which, if it had been poſſible, they would have *caſt from them. Saul, Saul*, (ſaith the Lord Chriſt from Heaven unto him, as he was travailing towards *Damaſcus*) *Why perſecuteſt thou me? And he ſaid, Who art thou Lord? And the Lord ſaid, I am Jeſus, whom thou perſecuteſt,* &c. Act. 9. 4, 5. To *perſecute* Chriſt (and conſequenly, God himſelfe, who is in Chriſt, 2 *Cor.* 5.) imports every whit as much, as to *fight againſt* Chriſt, and ſomewhat more. But why is *Saul* here charged with *perſecuting* Chriſt? What courſe of hoſtilitie did he run or practice againſt him? It is ſaid (*ver.* 2.) that *he deſired Letters of the high Prieſt to Damaſcus to the Synagogues, that if he found any of this WAY, whether they were men, or women, he might bring them bound to Jeruſalem.* Whereby it appears, that Pſal. 2. 1, 2, 3.

that the preciſe oppoſition againſt Chriſt, upon which *Saul* was arreſted from Heaven (as we heard) under the termes of *perſecuting* him, was his attempting with ſo high and bloudy an hand, to deſtroy out of the world that *WAY* of worſhipping & ſerving God, which Chriſt in his Goſpel recommends unto, and chargeth upon the world. *Men and women* were not the preciſe and formall object of his hatred and perſecution, but that *way* of Chriſt in the Goſpel, which they maintained, practiſed, and taught, who were perſecuted by him. If he could have told how otherwiſe to have gotten this *WAY* out of their hearts, tongues, and lives, and conſequently out of the world, then by moleſting, vexing, and perſecuting them, it is not like that he would have proceeded againſt them, with ſo rough and cruell an hand. It is ſaid (*Revel.* 12.7.) *That there was warre in Heaven; Michael and his Angels fought againſt the Dragon; and the Dragon fought, and his Angels.* Whether *Michael* in this Scripture be Chriſt himſelf, (as ancient Interpreters generally carried it) or ſome prime Angel appointed by Chriſt, to be as a Generall or Head to his Saints and ſervants, in thoſe warres and fiery conflicts, wherein they were for a long time engaged againſt Satan, and his bloudy Agents in the Roman Empire, (as ſome later Expoſitors conceive) is not much materiall. But it is here expreſly ſaid, that *the Dragon and his Angels*, that is, the Devill and his Inſtruments, ignorant and bloud-thirſty-men, *fought*, viz. againſt *Michael* and his Angels, *i.* againſt Chriſt himſelfe in thoſe appointed by him to hold forth the way and Goſpel of his Kingdome unto the world. But why, or how are they ſaid to have *fought againſt Chriſt?* What was their ingagement or attempt againſt him? Queſtionleſſe nothing elſe but the extirpation and ejection of the Doctrine and Way of his Goſpel out of the world, by the torments, ſlaughter and ruine of thoſe who profeſſed them, and by this profeſſion, gave them a ſpeciall ſubſiſtence and beeing in the world. For that rule, Doctrine, or way, which is not practiſed or profeſſed in the world, languiſheth, and is little better then dead. I adde but one Scripture more, and then I have done with the proofe of the Point, in this kind. *Then cometh the end* (ſaith the Apoſtle, 1 *Cor.* 15. 24.) *when he* (*i.* Chriſt) *ſhall have delivered up the Kingdome to God even the Father, when he ſhall have put downe all rule, and all authoritie and power.* Why the *end* ſhould not

be,

be, untill Christ hath *put downe all rule, and all authoritie and power*, *i.* all kinds of rule, Authoritie and power; this reason is rendred, *ver.* 25. *For he must reigne, till he hath put all enemies under his feet.* I demand, why should *all rule, all Authoritie and power*, as well Ecclesiasticall as Civill, be looked upon, as enemies unto Christ? What is the enmity or hostilitie they exercise against him? Doubtlesse no lawfull rule, Authoritie, or power, are enemies to Christ, either in their nature or institution, but are confederate with him. It is their degeneration in their exercise and actings, that renders them of an hostile interpretation to him. There is none of them all but is apt ever and anon to be *fighting against him*, and that by some peremptory and stiffe opposing and suppressing some way, Doctrine, or practise of his, where they have to doe. And this is the quarrell which the Lord Christ hath to the whole fraternitie or association of them; for this he counts them his *enemies*.

The reasons of the point, which we shall briefly touch, are three:

First, He that attempts or seeks by an high hand to suppress any Doctrine, Way or Practice which is from God, may well be conceived and said to *fight against God*, because he opposeth, and that with vehemence and might, the will of God, and that in a very considerable act, motion, or desire of it. There is no Way, Doctrine, or Practice, which is from God, but his will stands strongly bent for the propagation and spreading of it in the world. *I am come* (saith Christ) *to send* (or, cast) *fire on the earth: and what WILL I*, (or, what is my desire, as the former translation had it) *if it be already kindled?* meaning, that his desire to see the Gospel on foot, to see it well taken, and sufficiently rooted in the world, was so great, that when he once saw it, he cared not how soon he left the world. So *Luke* 22. 15. *And he said unto them, With desire have I desired to eat this passeover with you, before I suffer*: meaning that he even longed to erect and found that great Ordinance of the Supper, for the use and benefit of the world in after times, before he left the world. Many other Scriptures there are that speak this over and over, *viz.* that the heart and soul of God are firmly and deeply set within him, to have such Wayes, Doctrines and Ordinances as come from him, published, maintained, preached, and held forth unto the world. Therefore they who ingage themselves with all their strength, and all their might, to resist

Reason 1.

Luk. 12. 49.

ſiſt this will of his in the accompliſhment of it, what do they elſe but fight againſt him?

Reaſon 2. Secondly, Hee that magnifies himſelf to ſuppreſſe, quaſh, or keep down any way, Practice or Counſell which is from God, proportionably oppoſeth the glory of God, and doth what in him lies, to keep God from being magnified in the hearts and lives of men, at leaſt as far as that Way, Practice or Counſell which hee ſeeks to ſuppreſs, tends to ſuch a magnification of him. And will this, being weighed in the ballance of the Sanctuary, be found any whit lighter, then a fighting againſt God? Certain it is, that God hath (as it were) a ſtock of glory in the hand of every Way, Doctrine and Practice, which he recommends unto the world; yea, in all and every of theſe, he hath a peculiar deſigne for the exaltation of his Name. The *beauty of the Lord* is ſaid to be ſeen, or to be *beheld* in the Wayes and Ordinances of his *Houſe*, or Temple. *Pſal.* 27. 4. There is no way or truth of God, but carries an impreſſion in it of ſome lineament or other of the glory and lovelineſs of his face. So again, *Pſal.* 67. The Prophet having (*ver.* 1.) petitioned that at the hand of God, which (*ver.* 2.) might make his *way to be known on earth, &c.* he breaks out (*ver.* 3.) in this propheticall ſtrain, *Let the people praiſe thee, O God, let all the people praiſe thee*; clearly implying, that the *way of God* being publiſhed, and made known to the world, is that which increaſeth the Revenues of the throne of Heaven, raiſeth and procureth new contributions of praiſe and glory from men unto God. So then he that ſhall riſe up to oppoſe the God of Heaven in any of thoſe methods, counſels or projections of his, whereby he projects the exaltation and advancement of his own great Name and Glory in the world, may in as proper a ſenſe, as the phraſe lightly will bear, be ſaid *to fight againſt God*; eſpecially, if we conſider but this one thing further: that Gods glory is his darling, his *unica*, his only one, (as *David* cal'd his life, *Eripe à gladio animam meam, à cane unicam meam, Pſ.* 22. 21.) it is the only life which he lives in the world; it is the only apple that his ſoul careth to eat of, out of that great Orchard which he hath planted (I mean the world.) Therefore doubtleſs, he that ſhall oppoſe him in his gathering of this fruit, hath the greater ſin.

Reaſon 3. Thirdly, (and laſtly) there is in every thing that proceeds or derives

rives its originall or being from another, ſomewhat of the nature, property, or ſpirit of that, from which it takes this riſe or ſpring of its being: there is ſomewhat of the father in the childe, of the root in the fruit and in the branches, &c. In like manner, in every Way, Doctrine or Practice which is from God, there is ſomewhat of God himſelf. The very ſubſtance, frame and conſtitution of them, at leaſt that which is operative, quickning and ſpirituall in them, what is it but a kinde of heavenly compoſition, the ingredients whereof are the holineſs, wiſdome, mercy, goodneſs and bounty of God? and what are theſe, and every of them, but God himſelf? Every Ordinance or Way of God, is (as it were) a benigne conſtellation of theſe ſtars unto the world; out of the midſt of which he gives a gracious aſpect of himſelf, and communicates thoſe ſweet and rich influences of himſelfe, light, and life, and ſtrength, and peace, and joy, unto the world. It is ſaid, (1 *King.*19.11.) that the Lord neither was in the *ſtrong wind that rent the mountains*, nor yet in the *earthquake* that followed it, nor in the *fire* that came after that; but after theſe there came *a ſtill voyce*, wherein it is implied, that the Lord was. The meaning is, that God had neither prepared or intended, either the wind, earthquake or fire, by, or out of which to impart himſelf unto his Prophet *Elijah*; he had only prepared and ſanctified the *ſtill and ſoft voyce* for ſuch a purpoſe as this; and therefore he is expreſly denyed to have been in any other, and conſequently ſuppoſed to have been in this. In ſuch a ſenſe or manner as God was in this *ſtill voyce*, he is in every Way, Doctrine, and Ordinance of his; in, by, and out of all and every of theſe, he communicates and imparts himſelf graciouſly unto the world. Therefore whoſoever ſhall fight againſt any of theſe, by ſeeking to ſupplant, ſuppreſs, or keep them down, that they may not *runn and be glorified* in the world, what do they elſe, let this work and courſe of theirs be truly interpreted, but fight againſt God himſelf?

We have done with the Reaſons of the Doctrine; we ſhall conclude with ſomewhat by way of uſe and application.

Firſt, by way of Inſtruction: If to attempt the ſuppreſſion or keeping down, any Way, Doctrine, or Practice which is from God, be of no leſs concernment, of no ſafer interprepation, then a fighting againſt God, then certainly it is the greateſt imprudence

or improvidence under heaven, for any man, or rank of men whatsoever, to appear, especially in any high-handed opposition or contestation against any Way, Doctrine, or Practice whatsoever, untill they have proof upon proof, demonstration upon demonstration, evidence upon evidence; yea, all the security that men in an ordinary way (at least) are capable of, that such Wayes or Doctrines only pretend unto God as the author of them, and that in truth, they are not at all from him, but either from men, or of a baser parentage. For what do men by such a practice and ingagement of themselves as this, but run an apparent hazard, of dashing their foot against that stone, at which *Paul* stumbled, (when time was) yea, and without the highest hand of mercy that was ever lift up to save a mortall man, had been utterly broken to pieces by it? *It is a hard thing for thee* (saith the Lord by a voyce from heaven to him) σοὶ κέντρα λακτίζειν, *to kick* or dash thy self against sharp goads or nails, made of steele or iron, (for so the word signifies) meaning that his undertaking or setting himselfe with such violence, to suppresse that way which Christ had a purpose to advance and set up in the world, was an enterprise of the sorest and most grievous consequence and portendance to him, in the nature of it, that ever he could have lift up either heart, or head, or hand unto. *Who ever hath been fierce against him* (saith *Job*, speaking of God) *and hath prospered? Job* 9. 4. He that is fierce against any Way or Doctrine which is from God, makes a covenant with sorrow and trouble, which is like to stand. And (to make the best of such a doubtfull and blind ingagement) put the case that that Way or Doctrine, which men shall prosecute with so much violence and fierceness of spirit, shall in conclusion be found to have been mistaken, erroneous, and not from God: yet

Acts 9.

1. In this case men shall but offer the sacrifice of fooles, a kinde of sacrifice, wherewith God is not delighted. The *Athenians* worshipped the true God, as appeares by those words of the Apostle unto them, *Act.* 17. 23. *Whom ye then ignorantly worship, him shew I unto you*; and yet were Idolaters notwithstanding. The same Apostle *bears record* unto his Country-men the *Jewes*, *That they had the zeale of God*; but this zeale of theirs not being *according to knowledge*, in the prosecution of it, they *neither pleased God, and were contrary to all men, forbidding* the Apostles *to preach unto the Gentiles, that*

Rom. 10. 2.

they

they might be saved, to fulfill their sins alwayes; because wrath is at come upon them to the uttermost, 1 Thes. 2. 15, 16. The beast under the Law, though it were *a first-borne*, yet was not to be *sanctified* or offered *unto the Lord*, if it were either *lame, or blind*, Deut. 15. 19. 21. Nor was any man, though of *Aarons* seed, admitted to serve at the Altar, that had any blemish or imperfection of *blindnesse* on him, *Levit.* 21. 17, 18. God regards no mans *zeale* without *knowledge*, though it should pitch and fasten upon things, never so agreeable unto his will: nor doth he care that his enemies themselves should be destroyed, but upon lawfull triall and conviction.

Secondly, Whatsoever Doctrine or way is recommended and tendered unto men in the Name of God, whether either the one or the other be from God or no, yet he expects from men (as well he may) that reverence and regard unto that Great Name of his, wherein such things are brought and tendered unto them, that they should be diligently considered, and due proofe and examination made, whether they be from him, or no, before they be rejected, and much more before opposed. And certainly men doe but pollute and prophane that ever-blessed Name of God, by making refuse, yea abomination (as many doe) of such things as are brought unto them in that Name, before they know upon any considerable grounds or terms of knowledge, whether the things be indeed from God, or no; yea, though the things thus rejected should at last be found worthy of no better entertainment, as having no agreement with God, or his Word. The event or issue in this case, though it should fall out to the best for such men, will very little ease or qualifie their sin. Shall not that wicked tyrant and enemy of God, *Eglon, rise up in judgement, and condemne that generation* of men we now speak of, who, when *Ehud* onely signified that he *had a message from God unto him*, did not presently reject the message before he knew it, or fall foule upon the messenger, but (as the Text saith, *Judg.* 3. 20.) *arose up from his throne*, addressing himselfe in that deportment of Reverence to receive it?

Thirdly, (and lastly) It is extreme madnesse in men to run the hazard we speake of, I meane of *fighting against God*, in seeking to suppresse such waies or courses as they are not able to demonstrate, but that they are waies of God indeed, because, in case they be not the waies of God, he himselfe will give testimony from Heaven a-

gainſt them in due time, he will ſuppreſſe and ſcatter them, and bring them to nought: and then there will be no danger for men to reject and abhorre them. *Dearly beloved* (ſaith the Apoſtle, *Rom.* 12. 19.) *avenge not your ſelves, but give place unto wrath*, i. unto the wrath of God, whoſe juſt avenging hand is lift up againſt thoſe that wrong you, and deale unjuſtly with you, and is ready to ſmite for your ſakes; as it followeth: *For it is written, Vengeance is mine: I will repay, ſaith the Lord.* It were great folly in any man, to expoſe himſelfe to the juſt offence and diſpleaſure of God, by ſeeking to right himſelfe in an angry and revengefull manner upon him, whom he certainly knows hath injur'd him, God himſelfe being ready with his ſtroke of juſtice to do him right, and to avenge him on his adverſary, though he himſelfe ſhould be patient and ſit ſtill. But it would be a point yet of ſeven-times greater folly then ſo, for a man to fall foule in a way of revenge upon an imaginary adverſary, and who (at moſt) can onely be ſuppoſed or ſuſpected to have done him wrong, conſidering that God who is an infallible diſcerner and judge of injuries and wrongs, and withall a juſt Avenger of all ſuch things, will ſhortly appeare for his full vindication, in caſe he hath been wronged indeed. Nor hath any man cauſe in this caſe to feare, leſt *whilſt the graſſe grows, the ſteed ſhould ſtarve*, (as the Proverb is) I meane, that the perſon injured, whether really or in ſuppoſition onely, ſhould ſuffer loſſe, by *poſſeſſing his ſoule in patience*, untill the day of divine recompence and vengeance ſhall come. For God certainly will give full and ample conſideration for all forbearance and long-ſuffering of men, wherein and whereby the rights of his Throne are tendered and maintained. It were no leſſe then an exaltation of folly in any man, to expoſe his own life to the ſtroke of juſtice, by aſſaulting the life of a malefactor whilſt he is going to execution.

Againe, ſecondly, (by way of Inſtruction) If to attempt the deſtruction or ſuppreſſion of any Doctrine, or way, which is from God in ſo high and peremptory a manner, as was formerly expreſſed, be a *fighting againſt God*, take we knowledge from hence alſo, what ſin by name in all likelihood (at leaſt) and with higheſt pregnancy of conjecture, it is, which ever and anon thus ſeparates between God and us, which ſtill troubles our proceedings, and makes the Sun of our peace to goe ſo often backwards in the

Heavens

Heavens thereof. Is there not a *fighting againſt God* amongſt us, as well as a fighting for him? and doe we not pull downe by the one, what we build up by the other? Are not the hearts, and the heads, and the hands of farre the greateſt part of men amongſt us, ingaged, and that to the higheſt of all bitterneſſe, hatred, and enmity, againſt that *Way* of ordering the things of God's worſhip, and of governing his Churches and Saints, which hath been, and ſtill is held forth in his Name unto this Nation, by ſome Embaſſadors and Meſſengers of his of a very choice anoynting, and indued with ſtrength from on High, (many of them) as it were on purpoſe to ſtand by ſome ſuch *way* or counſell of God, untill it had throughly taken the hearts, and judgements, and conſciences of men; beſides many thouſands more, and thoſe (for the moſt part) of the beſt and choiceſt ſervants of God amongſt us? Is not this *WAY* blaſphemed and ſpoken againſt; yea, is not the deſtruction and ruine of it, with the grinding of the faces and breaking of the bones, with the ſuppreſſion and cruſhing of thoſe that hold it forth unto us, conſulted, ſtudied, and attempted by ſome that would be thought Pillars and prime men in the Houſe and Temple of God? And have they not a great vote of the generality of people, who know little of God, or his Wayes, concurring with them, to ſtrengthen their hand herein? May we not ſay of this *WAY*, as the *Jews* ſometimes ſaid unto *Paul*, concerning the Doctrine of Chriſt which he preached, with thoſe that profeſſed it; *We know that this Sect is every where ſpoken againſt?* Act. 28. 22. So then in caſe it ever ſhall appeare, or be found to be a *WAY* of God, we are in a *Præmunire* for the preſent, and have forfeited our peace, help and comfort in God, as touching deliverance from our preſent dangers and miſeries, by this our *fighting againſt him*. I preſume you will all readily acknowledge and confeſſe, that if there be ſuch a ſin ruling and raigning amongſt us, as *fighting againſt God*, this of all other is like to be the *Achan*, the *Troubler of our Iſrael*; that betrays our armies, our faithfull and valiant men into the hands of their and our enemies, and that makes us ever and anon retrograde in our motions and tendencies towards reſt and peace. *Who ever hath hardened himſelf againſt him* (ſaith *Job*, as wee heard before) *and proſpered?* If this be but granted, it is enough to demonſtrate our caſe and condition to be very dangerous and doubtfull, at the beſt: Acts 28. 22. Job 9. 4.

For

For whether that *WAY* we ſpeak of, which is ſo generally troden and trampled upon like clay and mire in the ſtreets, as well by the foot of ignorance and prophaneneſſe, as of learning and better accompliſhment, be the *WAY* of God, or no; moſt certain it is, that all the wit, wiſdome, parts, learning, judgement, that have encountered and oppoſed it hitherto, have not been able by any demonſtrative or concluding proofe, to overthrow that title or claim which it maketh unto God as the author and founder of it. Therefore unto me it is a thing of the ſaddeſt conſideration under heaven, and of more grievous portendance unto us, then any thing elſe, (as far as I am able to diſcern) that we ſhould hang the great weight of the peace and ſafety of a whole Nation, all our hopes and expectations of help and aſſiſtance from God in our greateſt extremities, upon the brittle pin of ſo doubtfull a diſputation, as that which is maintained, and yet depending, between the one *WAY* and the other. For in caſe that *way* againſt which the ſpirits of men are ſo generally and fiercely bent, ſhall at laſt be found to be the *Way* of God, we are all this while look'd upon from heaven as *fighters againſt God*, and ſo have as good as given hoſtages to our enemies, that we never mean to proſper, or do any great thing againſt them. Whereas, if men would but follow *Gamaliels* counſell in the Text, and refrain themſelves for a ſeaſon from laying either violent hands, or tongues upon this way, untill God had either untied or cut the knot, till he had given ſentence againſt it, the *doubtfulneſſe* of the *diſputation*, need not, would not be prejudiciall in the leaſt, either to our preſent proceedings, or future peace: and men do but make themſelves *wiſe above that which is written*; yea, above that which is either *reaſon* or *faith*, to think, or ſpeak otherwiſe.

If it be objected, that Reformation ſuffers and loſeth time, becauſe that *Way* is not yet hedg'd up with thorns, but men are ſuffered to walk in it.

I anſwer, Firſt, If the *Way* be one of thoſe *ways* which call God Father; Reformation indeed ſuffers, and loſeth time, but not becauſe this *Way* is not hedg'd up with thorns, but becauſe it is not laid more open, becauſe it is not repaired and made more paſſable by the favour and countenance of men in place, whether Miniſters or others; that ſo the people of God, whoſe hearts are towards it, may walk therein without fear.

2. That

2. That reformation (ſo called) which is the apple of ſo many eyes, and the joy of ſo many hearts, needs ſuffer nothing, nor loſe an hours time, though the *Way* we ſpeak of, be occupied in peace by thoſe, whoſe feet by the light of Gods Word and Spirit (at leaſt as they conceive) are guided into it. For what doth the poor Flie ſitting on the top of the wheele to hinder the waggoner from driving on his way? If the reſidue of the Nation be ſubjected to this Reformation, the Nation it ſelf may be ſaid to be reformed (according to ſuch a denomination, as this Reformation will afford) notwithſtanding ſuch a number of perſons (comparatively ſo inconſiderable, I mean as touching their *number) as adhere to this *Way*, be not concluded in it. During the regency of Prelaticall extravagancy, there were many Non-conformiſts; yea, ſeverall Congregations of people in the land, who openly diſclaimed and proteſted againſt that government; and yet the Nation was look'd upon as Epiſcopally *reformed*, notwithſtanding. The irregularity of the mountains and valleys in the ſurface of the earth, troubles no mans opinion concerning the perfect roundneſſe of it, becauſe it is ſwallowed up into victory by the vaſtneſſe of the globe. *John* ſaith, that *this whole world lyeth in wickedneſſe*, notwithſtanding a remnant who were born of God. The gleanings of Independency (ſo called) will not hinder the vintage of Presbytery.

* In ſeverall populous towns in the *Low Countries*, ſcarce every 5th, nay, not every 8th perſon (as I have been credibly informed) is immembred into any of their Churches, and yet the government of the Nation is reputed Presbyteriall.

1 Joh. 5. 19.

3. If a complete Nationall Reformation be indeed the Garland or Crown that is contended for, let but *Presbyterie* beſtir her ſelf, and act her part within her Juriſdiction, with as much diligence, wiſdome and faithfulneſs, as the *Congregationall Way* will undertake to act hers amongſt her Proſelytes; and there will not be the leaſt occaſion to fear, but that the whole and entire body of the Nation will ſhine with the beauty and luſtre of a perfect Reformation. If this *Way* ſhall be found tardy, or looſe, and not to keep pace with her ſiſter in carrying on the work of Reformation, even her *enemies themſelves being Judges*, let her ſuffer; yea, let her with her children be caſt out of doors. Therefore it is but a frivolous and putid ſlander caſt upon her, when ſhe is charged with enmity to Reformation: But,

4. (And laſtly) I would gladly know, what, or what manner of Reformation can reaſonably be expected, or hoped for, without her. Such a Reformation, as that whereby that Angel of

of darkneſſe, Satan is reformed, when he *is transformed into an Angel of light* (as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh) is no reformation of deſires: open looſeneſſe and prophaneneſs reformed into Pharaſaicall hypocriſie, brings in little to religion. For what ſaith our Saviour of ſuch a Reformation as this? *Verily I ſay unto you, that Publicans and Harlots go before you into the Kingdom of God.* If then ſuch a reformation as this ſhould take place, it is much to be feared, that when the Genealogie of it ſhall be ſought, it will be found to be of the houſe and linage of that Reformation, which the *Scribes* and *Phariſees* attempted in the world, when *they compaſſed Sea and Land to make one Proſelyte; and when he was made, they made him twofold more a child of hell*, then he was before; yea, *then they were themſelves*; Or, what is the Reformation, wherein the *Way* we ſpeak of, cannot be admitted to have either part or fellowſhip? Will it take the *members of an Harlot, and make them the members of Chriſt*, whether either *Chriſt* or ſuch *members* themſelves, will or no? Or will it undertake to reconcile darkneſs with light, to ſettle a communion betwixt Chriſt and *Belial*, to throw down the partition wall, and make the wildemeſſe of the world the garden of God, the Church and the world, enter-commoners? Or what is the glory or greatneſſe of the deſign of it, that the Congregationall *Way* is counted unworthy to be ſo much as a ſtander by, and to behold it? Will it lift up its hand, to quaſh and cruſh, to break the hearts and bones of the one half of the moſt religiouſly affected, and beſt conſcienced people in the Land, for trading in Apes and Peacocks, for holding ſome erroneous opinions (perhaps erroneouſly ſo called) as if it ſelf were the Lord of infallibility, and had a *non poſſe errare* ſettled by God, as an inheritance upon it? I profeſſe ingenuouſly, that when I put my ſelf into a poſture of the greateſt indulgency I am able, to conſider of the reformation ſo much ſpoken of, and even conflict with my ſpirit to forme and caſt the poſſible effects and fruits of it to the greateſt advantage, I am not able to apprehend any thing deſireable likely to come of it, either in reſpect of a civill, or religious accommodation unto the Nation, above what might be expected, and that upon terms of a far more promiſing hope, from the other *Way* which indureth ſo much contradiction from men. But I apparently foreſee many inconveniences, and thoſe not of a light or contemptible importance

2 Cor. 11. 14.

Mat. 21. 31.

Mat. 23. 15.

likely

likely to attend it, for which no place would be found in the other *Way*. Particularly, it is to mee instead of all arguments and demonstrations, that no Reformation is according to the mind of God and of Jesus Christ, which is destructive to the edification of the Saints, and directly impeding their *growth in grace, and in the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ*. And whether such a Reformation (if yet it be lawfull so to call it) which injoynes the Saints to sit under, and hold themselves to such Pastors, with whom their hearts cannot close in that relation with any tolerable satisfaction, nor yet are capable of his Ministery, or any edification by it, be not under that condemnation, I leave to men that have not sold themselves under partiality, to judge and determine.

If it be said, but men shall have liberty to choose what Pastor they please, and to sit under what Ministery they desire, if they will but choose their dwellings accordingly. I answer:

1. There may be (and I believe are) many of a rich anoynting from God for the work of the Ministery, and much desired by a considerable number of godly persons, in Pastorall relation, who must say their consciences nay, to accept of a Parochiall charge. In this case the change of a mans house will do nothing towards the blessing of his soul; if such a Reformation, as most mens thoughts run upon, should be established.

2. All the dwellings within the Parochiall line, relating to the Pastor that is desired, may be fill'd with Inhabitants already; and so there is no place, or possibility (at least for the present) for him whose soul longeth after that Pastor, to injoy him: and when, or whether ever whileſt he liveth, the door now shut against him will be open, no man knoweth.

3. Many times the situation and conveniency of a mans present dwelling for trade, imployment, &c. is such, that he cannot remove, but at the perill of his estate, and ruining himself and his whole family. And how they, who shall compell men, either to sacrifice their peace, comfort, and subsistence in this present world, or else run the hazard of losing a subsistence in that which is to come, will answer it either before the righteous God, or reasonable men, is above my apprehension.

4. This liberty of choosing Pastors only by choosing houses, is so conditioned, that it smiles only upon the rich, (and that but some-

what saintly neither) but frowns upon the poor; and so is partiall, and therefore not Christian. He that hath enough of that, which Eccles. 10. 19. (as *Solomon* saith) *answers all things*, may probably be able to accommodate himself within the precincts of what parish he pleaseth, in point of dwelling; as either by buying out some Inhabitant, or by purchasing ground, and building upon it, or the like; but the case of the poor man is many times such, that he cannot tell where to finde another hole in all the world to hide his head in, besides that wherein it is hid already. So that this liberty of choosing a Pastor, being nothing else, if plainly interpreted, but only a liberty of choosing such or such a Parish determinately to dwell in, is little better then a meer collusion, in respect of those that are poor, and (indeed) rather an upbraiding of them with their poverty, then any gratification of them with a liberty.

5. (And lastly) such a liberty as this we now speak of, were it more valueable then it is, is no gratuity, benefit or blessing of that Reformation so importunely demanded and pressed for by many, being nothing else, but what was every mans permission and enjoyment under the iron rod of Episcopall tyranny. I am more beholding to every man that comes neer me, for not taking away my life, then I am to any Reformation whatsoever, for giving me liberty to choose my Pastor upon such terms. This for answer in full to that undue charge against the Congregationall *Way*, wherein it was attainded of inconsistency with, and enmity against Reformation.

A second objection levied against it, and all sufferance of it, by those that are adversaries to it, is, that if it be permitted quietly to walk up and down amongst us, and not be suppressed, it will soon make the Land unquiet, fill the Land with troubles, tumults, divisions, distractions, dissentions, discontents, confusions, in City, in Countrey, in relations, in families, and where not? To this also I answer.

1. That peremptorinesse and height of confidence in an accuser, is no signe at all of reality or truth in the accusation. *We know* (say the *Jews*, concerning Christ) *that this man is a sinner*, Joh. 9. 24. Joh. 9. 24. And again, Joh. 8. 48. *Say we not well, that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a Devill?* And yet for all their *knowledge*, and confidence of *well-speaking*, the Lord Christ was never the more either a *Sinner*,

or

or a *Samaritan*, or *had a Devill*. The Way we ſpeak of, is never the neerer the guilt of thoſe things that are charged upon it, becauſe her accuſers bewray ſo little tenderneſſe or heſitancy in drawing up their charge.

2. Nor is the tragicall dreſſe or pointed ſtile of an accuſation any demonſtrative proof of a guilt commenſurable thereunto; no, nor yet of any proportion or degree of guilt at all. Want of crime and delinquency, either in things or perſons, which are accuſed, many times makes a greater noyſe in the accuſation, then a reality or fulneſſe of guilt would do. Innocency hath begotten the rankeſt and fierceſt accuſations that ever were managed by the tongues or pens of men. *Thou loveſt all devouring words* (ſaid *David*) *O thou deceitfull* (or, falſe) *tongue*. They that accuſe either upon knowledge or fear of little or no guilt in the accuſed, ſtill labour to lay on accuſation enough, leſt nothing otherwiſe ſhould be believed by the Judge. That mount of accuſation which is raiſed ſo high againſt the *Way* we now maintain, doth not at all prove that there is any thing in it that deſerves battery. Pſal. 62. 4.

3. There is no ſubſtantiall reaſon at all can be given, why this *Way* ſhould occaſion troubles, diviſions, diſcontents, or the like, above the rate of that other *Way*, which ſo much magnifies it ſelf againſt it; except (haply) this, that it hath more of God and Chriſt in it, then that other: and then it is no marvell if it be more offenſive, and troubleſome to the world. But ſuppoſe both equally intereſſed in this, I affirm and undertake to demonſtrate, that in the nature, frame, and conſtitution of it otherwiſe, it is every whit as gentle, ſweet, complying and accommodating, and no whit more threatning or portending troubles or diſtractions, then the other; yea, that in all ſuch conſiderations as theſe, it hath the preheminence: For,

1. It ſeeketh not, it attempteth not the moleſtation, harm, or diſturbance of any ſort of men that are contrary-minded to it; it thinketh no evill, it ſpeaketh no evill of ſuch: if it conceives them upright and faithfull with God and Jeſus Chriſt, it imbraceth them with all love, tenderneſſe and honour, as *partakers of like precious faith* with it ſelf; and nothing doubts, but that they ſerve and worſhip God with as much ſincerity and ſingleneſſe of heart, and are accordingly accepted by him in their *Way*, as it ſelf.

2. If God ſhould pleaſe to give it favour in the eyes, and intereſt in the hearts of the powers of this world, it thinks it very un-Chriſtian and unworthy, to arm it ſelf with this intereſt, to fight againſt the peace of the conſciences of other men. If any of this *Way* have miſcarried in any of theſe particulars, they have done it as men, and not as children of this *Way*; the principles of their *Way* taught them better things. And why, or how a *way*, baptized into no worſe, or harder ſpirit then this, ſhould come to be arraigned, as a troubler of State, or ſtrife-maker, a diſſention-breeder amongſt men, except it be by a ſpirit of contention and ſtrife indeed, is to me a thing incomprehenſible. Nevertheleſſe it is no new thing, that both the wayes and ſervants of God ſhould be charged with ſuch crimes and demerits, not only whereof they are wholly innocent and free, but which have a ſpeciall contrariety to ſome ſuch grace or vertue, wherein they have a remarkable and choyce preheminence above others. Thus *Joſeph*, the great mirrour of chaſtity, was accuſed of Adultery, *Gen.* 39. *Moſes*, the meekeſt man upon earth, of ambition, and ſelf-aſſuming, *Numb.* 16. *Elijah* of being the troubler of *Iſrael*, 1 *King.* 18. who was the Chariot and Horſe-men of *Iſrael*, to defend it: 2 *King.* 2. The Lord Chriſt himſelf, *in whom the Godhead dwelt bodily*, of *having a Devill*, *Joh.* 8. and ſo of being *an enemy unto Ceſar*, when as it was, and is he, *by whom Kings reign*; with many the like. Therefore however it may ſeem ſtrange that a *Way* of God, which is eminently ſet, ſtrongly bent, and (in a manner) every wayes calculated for peace, ſhould ſuffer in the tongues and thoughts of men as a diſturber of States, and ſower of diſſentions amongſt men, yet is there nothing in this, but what hath been acted, and that over and over upon the Theatre of the world formerly.

If it be here replied and ſaid; Yea, but experience riſeth up, and confirms the truth of that accuſation and charge againſt the *Way* you ſpeak of, which you would wipe off; this ſhewes and proves againſt all deniall and exception, that where your *Way* is entertained, Congregations are torn, families rent, relations diſtanced and divided, &c.

I anſwer, firſt, that *Ariſtotle* long ſince obſerved, that μετὰ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο, was a very frequent Paralogiſme or miſtake amongſt men, nothing is more ordinary then for men to range conſequents and effects

effects under one & the ſame notion, eſpecially where the diſproportion of cauſality is not very notorious and broad. A man in reaſon can hardly think, that any man, *compos mentis*, (as we uſe to ſay) ſhould be ſo defective or weak in his intellectualls, as to think that the building of *Tenderton* Steeple, ſhould be the cauſe of *Godwins Sands*, only becauſe theſe ſands were never known to be before the building of that Steeple; yet old Mr. *Latimer* relates the Story in one of his Sermons, and improves it to very good purpoſe: By ſuch a form of arguing as this, *Judas* his betraying his Maſter, ſhould have been the effect of the womans powring out *that box of oyntment upon his head*, mentioned, *Mat.* 26. 7. For he never betrayed him untill this oyntment was powred out upon him; and immediately after, he did. The *Way* we ſpeak of, is never the more any cauſe of troubles, diſſentions, or diviſions, becauſe troubles, diſſentions and diviſions, many times follow upon the embracement and entertainment of it.

2. If troubles or diviſions were the proper effects of this *way*, then the more, and more generally it were taken up and practiſed in a familie, Citie, or Countrey, the more troubles and diviſions there would be. Effects are ſtill found in proportion to their cauſes, where nothing interpoſeth to hinder it. But where it is generally aſſented and ſubmitted unto, whether in families, relations, or otherwiſe, there is as much unitie, love, and peace, (as touching matter of government) as where Presbyterie hath its higheſt throne. Therefore the reaſon why troubles and diviſions ſometimes accompany it, is not becauſe it is intertained, but becauſe it is not intertained ſufficiently, or with that generalitie of conſent, which is deſireable.

3. When troubles and diviſions are occaſioned in relations, families, Congregations, &c. by the meeting together of two oppoſite wayes, why ſhould the one *way* be ſtill burthened and charged with the occaſion of ſuch troubles, and the other acquitted, there being no ground or reaſon at all, why either that which is acquitted, ſhould be judged more innocent; or that which is charged, more obnoxious or peccant, in this kind. Nay,

4. If matters were duly and fairely examined between the two Combatants in this caſe, the *way* wee plead for, would be found *via lactea*, the candid, harmleſſe, and peaceable *way*: and her corrivall

rivall or competitresse, *via sanguinis*, the trouble and strife-making
Prov. 13. 10. way. *Onely by pride* (saith *Solomon*) *cometh contention.* Surely that way which commandeth homage and subjection unto her from all her fellowes, and threatens to breake them all in pieces like a potters vessell with a rod of iron, if they will not bow, and deny themselves for her sake, is the way of *pride*, and so of *contention*, (according to *Solomons* Logique) not that which is gentle, and easie to be entreated by all others, claiming no superioritie or jurisdiction over any. If there be any clashing or unkindnesse between the two wayes, *Independency* (so called) and *Presbyterie*, when they meet together, either in a relation, familie, &c. the very complexion of the latter bewrayes that to be still the foundresse of the quarrell. To me it is a wonder of the first magnitude, how men come to have so much ground of hope as to set their foot upon, of composing differences and distractions, of setling peace and love throughout the Nation, by exalting one way of Discipline, of Church-Government, for the treading downe and trampling un-
Esa. 9. 21. der foot all others. If *Ephraim be against Manasseh*, is it any wayes like but that *Manasseh* will be *against Ephraim*? And God himselfe
Gen. 16. prophecying of *Ishmael*, told his mother, that he would *be a wild man*: and *that his hand should be against every man, and every mans hand against him.* Undoubtedly that way, whose hand shall be against every way, will find that the hand of every way will be against it: and then what manner of peace can reasonably be expected under the predominancy of such a way? That *way* which shall be able to *out-reason*, not that which shall *out-clubbe*, all other wayes, will at last exalt unitie, and be it selfe exalted by gathering in all other
Prov. 12. 27. wayes unto it. *Solomon* tells us, that all that is *taken in hunting*, is
Prov. 20. 21. not alwayes *roasted*; and that *an inheritance may be hastily gotten, and yet the end thereof not be blessed*: and the Prophet *Habakkuk*
Hab. 2. 12. denounceth a *woe* against him that *shall build a towne with blood.* But,

5. I would gladly know what the plaintiffe in the objection means, by distractions, rents, divisions, in relations, families, Congregations, &c. If he means onely this, that the father goes to heare one Minister in one place, and the son another Minister, in another, and that some within the same parochiall line goe to this Minister, or are members of this Church, others to another Minister, and are members of another Church, and the like, &c. I answer,

swer, That in this case, I know no more occasion, (at least no more necessitie) of any distraction, rent, or division, then when the father being free of one company, as suppose of Merchant-taylors, shall still upon occasion of the meeting of this company, repaire to the hall belonging to it; and the son being free of another, as perhaps of the company of Grocers, shall upon the like occasion repaire to the hall appertaining to them. Who knows not that the members of all the severall Companies in *London*, dwell scatteringly and promiscuously up and downe the Citie, with the greatest irregularitie of intermixture that lightly can be, and without any observation of their relations to their respective Companies, sundry members of twenty severall Companies (It may be) inhabiting within one and the same parish; and yet without any complaint or inconvenience of *rents, distractions, or divisions?* Or if by *rents, distractions, and divisions,* he means distances or alienations in affections; nor can these with any face of reason be charged upon that *way*, whose cause we plead; because it is a maine principle and maxime in this *way*, to hold terms of love and Christian correspondence, with all persons of what judgement soever in point of Government, if they be godly, as well as with her owne children (as hath in effect been argued formerly.) But in this case the Roman proverb (it seems) must be verified; *Æmilius fecit, plectitur Rutilius.* Or 3. (and lastly) if by *rents, distractions, &c.* he means, the shaking or troubling of mens judgements, raising doubts or scruples in mens consciences concerning the way they went peaceably in before: I answer, 1. That if they were built upon sure and cleere foundations in their former way, there is not the least ground or reason why they should be troubled or shaken in their judgements, because they see another *way* acted and practised by others: or 2. if they were but at peradventure in their former way, and it was not the knowledge, but the ignorance of the truth, that both put them into it and kept them in it, they have no cause to complaine of being awakened out of so sinfull and dangerous a sleep, though it were never so sweet and pleasing to them. But,

6. (and lastly) Suppose that all which the objection chargeth upon the *way* we speake for, be granted for truth, that *where this Way comes and is entertained, Congregations are torne, families rent, relations distanced, &c.* Yet this maketh much more for it, then a-

against

gainſt it; becauſe ſuch figures and characters as theſe, are the knowne impreſſions of the Goſpel upon the world, where it comes in power, and is entertained in truth. *Think yee* (ſaith our Saviour) *that I am come to give peace on earth? I tell you, nay, but rather debate. For from henceforth there ſhall be five in one houſe divided, three againſt two, and two againſt three. The father ſhall be divided againſt the ſon, and the ſon againſt the father: the mother againſt the daughter, and the daughter againſt the mother: the mother in law againſt her daughter in law, and the daughter in law againſt her mother in law.* Nor is it to be conceived that theſe *diviſions* in relations and families, foretold by Chriſt as the common and ordinary effects and conſequents of the Goſpel (for in different reſpects they may be either) are to be limited onely to ſuch either relations or families, wherein the ground or occaſion of the diviſion ſhould be, the receiving of the Goſpel in the maine truth and ſubſtance of it by the one partie, the other partie abſolutely rejecting it, as if they were onely to take place in ſuch caſes as this; but they are to be extended to ſuch both families and relations alſo, where ſome particular and ſpeciall points or truths of the Goſpel are intertained by one partie, and rejected by another, though both agree as well in the beliefe, as in the Profeſſion of the Goſpel in the generall. Experience ſhews that *rents & diviſions* take place in both, as well, yea, and that with as much heate and diſtemper of affection, in the latter caſe and upon the latter occaſion, as in the former. Now if the queſtion in this latter caſe be, Whether the occaſion of the diviſion be rather to be imputed to the truth held and practiſed by the one partie, or to the error held and practiſed in oppoſition to the truth, by the other: The anſwer is, that where all were before bound up in unitie and peace, by a common band of error, there the occaſion of the diviſion muſt needs be imputed unto the truth comming amongſt them. Therefore were it granted, that the way ſo much conteſted againſt, did indeed occaſion, *rents, diviſions, diſtractions*, in relations, in families, in Congregations where it comes, this would rather *turne unto* it *for a teſtimony*, and aſſert its originall from God, then otherwiſe: The Goſpel it ſelfe works no otherwiſe then thus, where it is preached and intertained. And as *Ariſtotle* ſuppoſeth, that in caſe any piece or fragment were broken off from the maine body of the Heavens, it would move circularly,

Luk. 12. 51. &c.

ly, according to the naturall motion of the maine body; in like manner any particular opinion or practiſe which moves, acts, and works, according to the manner and tenor of that motion, acting, and working, which are genuine and proper to the Goſpel, is ſo much the more likely to be a parcell or branch of the Goſpel: but however, ſuch a moving, acting, and working as this, can with no ſemblance or colour of reaſon, be drawn into any contrary interpretation, or be made an argument of the non-conformitie of it unto the truth.

A third objection againſt that *way* whoſe condemnation outruns her triall day and way, in the world, is, that it opens a doore to all errors, hereſies, and unſound opinions, yea to all looſeneſſe and prophaneneſſe, and conſequently it cannot but be a thing diſpleaſing unto God, and ſo prejudiciall to the peace and ſafetie of the Nation, if it ſhould be tolerated, or practiſed amongſt us. But to theſe things alſo full and clear anſwers are not wanting. For,

Firſt, it being certain that error cannot be healed or ſuppreſſed but by the manifeſtation of the truth, as darkneſſe cannot be deſtroyed or removed but by the ſhining of the light; that way which affords the greateſt advantages and the beſt incouragements unto men, both for the ſearching out and bringing forth into light the truth being found, muſt needs be ſo farre from opening doores unto *errors, hereſies, unſound opinions*, &c. that it ſteers the moſt advantagious and hopefull courſe that lightly can be taken, for the evicting, and conſequently for the ſuppreſſion of them. I need not adde, that it is the congregationall *way* (and this onely amongſt all its fellows) that rejoyceth in the method of this warfare and advance againſt thoſe enemies of God, and Religion, errors and hereſies. And,

Secondly, for the way ſir-named *Preſbyterian*, which conjures all mens gifts, parts, and induſtrie into a ſynodicall circle, and ſuffers them onely to dance there, as it may poſſibly ſhut the doores againſt ſome errors and hereſies, which were not like to ſtay long, in caſe they ſhould enter under the other *way*; ſo it is in every whit as much poſſibilitie and danger, of ſhutting the doore upon, and compelling ſuch errors and hereſies as are alreadie gotten in, and otherwiſe have a mind to be gone, to ſtay

by it, and so to infest and annoy the truth, and peace of the Churches of Christ, against their wils. But,

Thirdly, I would gladly learn of the sons of this objection, how, which way, or in what respect the *way* so much objected against, commits this folly-deed of opening a doore unto errors and heresies. Certain I am, first, that this *way* hates both the one and the other with as *perfect an hatred*, as her competitresse doth. Secondly, I fully beleeve, that this *way* is as diligent, faithfull, and industrious to slay these enemies of Christ by *the sword of the Spirit*, (which is in speciall manner consecrated for such executions) as the other way. Thirdly, if the error be dangerous, amounting to, or neer an heresie, after two or three admonitions (that is, according to her warrant from Heaven) she casts it out of the line of her communication, unto him who cast it in (I mean, Satan.) If to hate errors and heresies, to preach with all diligence and faithfulnesse against errors and heresies, to excommunicate errors and heresies, be to open a doore unto error and heresies, then must the adversaries of the *way* whereof we speak, be justified in their accusation of her: otherwise they speak at the utmost perill of their reputations, when they lay such things to her charge.

If it be here replyed and said; Yea, but all this notwithstanding, the *way* you plead for, is but feeble-handed, for the suppression of errors and heresies; because these, though hated, preach'd against, and cast out of the Church by excommunication, may yet live and gather head again in the world, except error and errant be further restrained by a secular hand, and heresie and heretique put to silence together in the grave. And this, which is the most, if not the onely effectuall means to preserve the wheat from those tares, the *way* of your desires exerciseth not, nor yet approveth.

I answer: first, we presume that *Prisons* and *Swords* are no *Church-officers*, nor any appurtenances to any Ecclesiastique authority in what form of Government soever.

Secondly, we suppose that the Lord Christ so far tendered the spirituall safety and peace of his Churches, as to leave them sufficiently furnished, and every wayes appointed with internall provisions, for the effectuall procurement and preservation of them,

them, without any concurrence of any heterogeneall or externall power. Especially considering, that he foresaw, that these Churches of his, for the space of three hundred yeers together, and somewhat more (during which terme he knew likewise that they would continue in their greatest puritie, and perfection of love and loyaltie towards him) were not like to have any accommodation at all in this kind from any secular or civill power.

Thirdly, though the Churches of Christ, during this period of time wherein they had no comportance with any secular arm for their preservation either in this or any other kind, were not wholly free from *errors and heresies*; yet did they quit and defend themselves against the danger spreading and troublesomenesse of them upon better terms, and with farre better successe, then they were able to do afterwards, when they had an arme of flesh and a sword in it, to assist them. Note this.

Fourthly, if persons delivered up unto Satan by the Church, whether for Error, Heresie, or other crime, were presently to be cut off by the secular Sword, all opportunitie for the effectuall and saving work of that ordinance of Christ upon the persons so delivered up, would be cut off also. The Apostle, 1 *Corinth.* 5. 5. expressly affirms the end of Excommunication or *delivering up unto Satan*, to be the *destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus*. And 1 *Tim.* 1. 20. he saith, that he had *delivered Hymenæus and Alexander unto Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme*. Now as naturall medicines and physicall receits, must have a time to work, before they can in an ordinarie course of providence produce their most proper and desired effects; in like manner the ordinances and means which the Lord Christ hath graciously appointed for the everlasting salvation of the precious souls of men, must, according to the nature and condition of their respective workings, and the tenor of Gods providence observed for the time of his falling in with them to make them effectuall, have their full and just allowance of time given and permitted unto them, to work upon men effectually. And whosoever shall limit or straiten the providence of God, in this kind, by any hasty or violent taking away a soul from under the influence and working of any ordinance of Christ appointed for his salvation, before the blessed work of

Repentance be accompliſhed in him, will be arraigned before the tribunall of the living God, as acceſſarie to the blood of that ſoul, except he can ſhew a better warrant from God for ſuch an action, then I know any. And God himſelf having no where preſcribed or limited any determinate or ſet time, within which he intends to make the ſentence of Excommunication after the paſſing of it by the Church, effectuall to the ſaving of the ſoul, or otherwiſe never to do it, I conceive it can be no leſſe then an act of high preſumption in any man to undertake any ſuch preſcription or limitation. As God by the voice of the Matth. 20. 6. Goſpel calls ſome at the third and ſixth houre, ſo he cals others at the ninth, and ſome at the eleventh houre: and why may he not work ſavingly, by the ſentence of Excommunication with as much libertie, and difference in reſpect of time? And this ſentence being the laſt and utmoſt means which God is like to afford a poore hardened, impenitent ſoul for the eternall peace and ſalvation of it, how can it but be conceived an act moſt unworthy of Chriſtian bowels, to cut him off from this alſo, whilſt God is pleaſed to ſpare him? If it be here objected and ſaid, But if an heretique be ſuffered to live, he is in danger of infecting others, and deſtroying them eternally. I anſwer: firſt, ſo is a drunkard, a fornicatour, a ſwearer, a covetous perſon, with the like; the lives of all theſe kinds of ſinners are of as dangerous a conſequence in reſpect of infecting, yea and of deſtroying the ſouls of others, as the life of an heretique is: and yet no man (I preſume) judgeth this a ſufficient ground why ſuch men ſhould be puniſhed with death. Secondly, as for thoſe that are within the Church, they are not capable of any communion or commerce with an Heretique that is caſt out by Excommunication, and ſo are not in danger of being infected by him: and for thoſe that are without, theſe are infected already with a diſeaſe every whit as mortall, as any hereſie, I mean unbelief. So that infection with hereſie, will not much impaire the eſtates or conditions of theſe. Thirdly, (and laſtly) the truth is, that an Heretique being dead (eſpecially if puniſhed with death for his opinion ſake) ſpeaketh in his ſurviving hereſie with every whit as much authoritie, and conſequently with every whit as much danger of infecting others therewith, as he could do if he were alive, if not with more. And ſo, Fifthly,

Fifthly, (and laſtly) concerning other civill means for the ſuppreſſion and reſtraint of thoſe ſpirituall evils, errors, hereſies, &c. as impriſonment, baniſhment, interdictions, finings, &c. both reaſon and experience concurre in this demonſtration, that ſuch fetters as theſe put upon the feet of errors and hereſies to ſecure and keep them under, ſtill have prov'd (and are like to prove no other, but) wings whereby they raiſe themſelves the higher in the thoughts and minds of men, and gain an opportunitie of a further and ranker propagation of themſelves in the world. It was an obſervation of *Tacitus* long ſince, that *punitis ingeniis gliſcit authoritas*; To puniſh men of parts and wit, is to caſt a ſpirit of Authoritie upon them, and to make their reputation glowe. Men of ordinarie capacitie, and vulgar apprehenſion, are and ever will be inclinable to think, that men of wiſdome and worth will never expoſe themſelves to ſufferings, but for that which is weightie, and which hath more in it, then every man ſeeth. And beſides, men of better breed, may eaſily be ſwayed by ſuch a principle as this, that wiſe men, whileſt they have the advantage and odds of their adverſaries in *reaſon*, will never renounce or diſclaim this ſo honourable an advantage by calling in the more ignoble aſſiſtance of horn and hoof to their aid. It is true, when Chriſt was handled with this rough hand we ſpeak of, that piece of prophecie was verified; *I will ſmite the Shepherd, and the ſheep ſhall be ſcattered*; but ordinarily the ſmiting of the Shepherd or head of any Sect or error, is the gathering together, yea the multiplication and increaſe, of his ſheep. But

Fourthly (to the main objection laſt propounded) whereas the innocent *way* is condemned as opening a doore to all looſeneſſe and prophaneneſſe, ſhe may juſtly take up *Davids* complaint, and ſay; *Cruell witneſſes did riſe up: they laid to my charge things that I knew not.* Pſal. 35. 11. The very truth is, that this way, above all her fellows, is ſo farre from holding any intelligence or correſpondence with looſeneſſe and prophaneneſſe, that her face is ſet to advance righteouſneſſe and true holineſſe in all her quarters. Her heart runs parallel with *Davids* heart in thoſe his meditations and vows, *Pſal.* 101. 3, 4. &c. *I will ſet no wicked thing before mine eyes: I hate the work of them that turn aſide:*

aside: it shall not cleave to me. I will not know a wicked person. Who so privily slandereth his neighbour, him will I cut off: him that hath an high look and a proud heart, will I not suffer. Mine eyes shall be upon the faithfull of the land, that they may dwell with me: he that walketh in a perfect way, shall serve me. He that worketh deceit, shall not dwell within my house: he that telleth lies shall not tarrie in my sight. I will early destroy all the wicked of the land: that I may cut off all wicked doers from the Citie of the Lord. This is such a draught and copie of Reformation as the *Way* we speak of (*mutatis mutandis*) emulates, and aspires unto. If *David* in those resolutions and practises mentioned, opened a dore to loosenesse and prophaneneſſe, then cannot she excuse her self from part and fellowship with him, in that sin.

If it be replyed and said; but this *way* taketh care for none in point of holinesse, but her own: she suffereth all the world about her to *lie in wickedneſſe*, and to *sleep in death*, without looking after them, or taking any pitie or compassion on them. To this also we answer in one word:

That she doth as tenderly, as affectionately desire and pray for, yea and with as much diligence and faithfulneſſe, yea and prudence of endevour otherwise, and likelihood of successe, attempts and seeks the salvation of those that sit in darkneſſe and in the shadow of death, as any other way can do. It is true, she doth not judge it any wayes conducing towards the quickning of those that *are dead in sins and trespasses*, to put them into a conceit that they are *living stones* (whilest they are yet dead) by putting them into the building of the *spirituall temple* of God: she knows no such method or means of converting souls unto God, as this. Nor doth she willingly suffer any man *to eat and drink damnation unto himself*, to further him in his salvation. Nor doth she make Faith of apparent unbelief in parents, by baptizing their children, as any wayes accommodating the souls either of the one, or of the other. Therefore if she declines such things as these, it cannot be argued from hence (except either ignorance, or a worse Logician, makes the syllogisme) that therefore she neglects or casts off all care of seeking the salvation of others; but onely this, that she thinks it no point either of wisdome or charity to expose her self to the displeasure of God by doing

1 Cor. 11. 29.

that

that, which is more like to expoſe others alſo to the ſame ſtroke, then any wayes to comfort or relieve them. But whatſoever ſhe can reaſonably conceive or judge to be a means any wayes likely to *ſave a ſoul from death*, to *tranſlate* men *from darkneſſe unto life*, ſhe girds her ſelf to miniſter unto the world both farre and neer, in every ſuch thing: She cordially prayes for the converſion of the unconverted, ſhe mourns over them, ſhe cauſes *her light to ſhine before them*, ſhe bears their burthens, ſhe intreats them gently, ſhe feeds their hungry, and cloatheth their naked (as ſhe is able) ſhe recompenceth evill for evill unto none of them, with all ſuch exemplarities of life and converſation, which are ſanctified, and appointed by God for the *winning of thoſe without the Word*, who refuſe *to obey it*. 1 Pet. 3. 1. And beſides all this, (that which is the firſt-born means of converſion) ſhe preacheth the Goſpel with as much diligence, and faithfulneſſe, and power, and with as much libertie and freedome unto all to partake with her in this her miniſtration, as any other way whatſoever: yea, as readie and forward ſhe is as any other, to contribute her proportion to the full, whether in counſell, purſe, or otherwiſe, for the furniſhing of all the candleſticks in the land with burning and ſhining lights, I mean for the erecting and ſetting up a faithfull preaching Miniſtery throughout the Land, yea if it were poſſible, throughout the whole world. Therefore

Fifthly, (and laſtly, to the main objection) whereas this way with the permiſſion and ſufferance of it, is burthened with this jealouſie and fear, that it is ſo highly diſpleaſing unto God, that he is not like to turn in mercie unto the Nation, untill it be removed, and all the factors for it taken away. I anſwer.

Firſt, that this jealouſie and fear is of the ſame inſpiration, with that wherewith *Rabſhakeh* of old, ſought to poſſeſſe the heart of the good King *Hezekiah* and the inhabitants of Jeruſalem, that ſo upon the diſcouragement they might be the more willing to compound for their City. *But if thou ſay to me, we truſt in the Lord our God; is it not he whoſe high places, and whoſe altars Hezekiah hath taken away, and ſaid to Judah and Jeruſalem, ye ſhall worſhip before this altar?* That which *Hezekiah* had done (in deſtroying Idolatry) with great acceptation in the ſight of God, and which conſequently was in it ſelf a pledge and confirmation Iſa. 36. 7.

unto

unto him and his people that God was and would be with them to ſave them and their Citie out of *Rabſhakehs* hand, this doth this deceived ambitious man contrive into an argument of jealouſie and fear unto them, that God was offended with them; and ſo repreſents their *hope and confidence*, in the ſhape of *diffidence* and deep *diſcouragement* unto them. He that perſwaded the woman, that God knew how that *in the day wherein they ſhould eat of the tree in the midſt of the garden, their eyes ſhould be opened, and they be like gods*, &c. hath (it ſeems) poſſeſt many amongſt us with this ſemblable apprehenſion, that from the day wherein they ſhall deſtroy that *way* we ſpeak of out of the Land, and ſuppreſſe all thoſe that walk in it, God will be gracious unto them, and remember their iniquities no more; as if to ſacrifice the children in the Fathers ſight, were the onely means of making atonement with him. But

Gen. 3. 5.

Secondly, how doth this carrie any ſhew or ſhadow of reaſon or truth in it, that God ſhould turn away his face from a State or Nation, for not hating his people or for refuſing to perſecute his anointed ones? God ſometimes ſaid, *That Nation whom they ſhall ſerve, I will judge.* Gen. 15. 14. Is his mind ſo far altered in this point, that now he ſhould ſay, the *Nation who ſhall give them libertie, I will judge?* The generall rule of reſtraint which God hath charged upon States, Kingdoms, and Nations, is this: *Touch not mine anointed, and do my Prophets no harm:* and hath he any where made *Independencie* (ſo called) an exception from this rule? or hath he any where made *Presbyterie* a diſtinguiſhing character of ſuch of his *anointed* ones, who muſt not be *touch'd*, from others of them, who may be cruſh'd, and whoſe *bones may be broken?* Surely *circumciſion* and *uncircumciſion* differed as much, as Presbyterie and Independencie can do: yet the Apoſtle tels us, *Gal.* 6. 15. that *in Jeſus Chriſt neither circumciſion availeth any thing, nor uncircumciſion, but a new creature.* If Independents be *new creatures*, and born of God, their Brethren need not fear any diſpleaſure or anger from their Father, for ſuffering them to dwell in peace by them in the ſame Land; but have cauſe to rejoyce in ſuch their neighbourhood and ſocietie, as being pillars of the ſame ſtrength with themſelves, to ſupport the State and Nation wherein they dwell. But

Pſal. 105. 15.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, (and lastly) when *mens table becomes a snare unto them, and their welfare a trap*, it is a signe that God is about *to bow down their backs, if not to make their habitations desolate.* When the Jews began to reason after this manner, (and to act accordingly) *If we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him: and* then *the Romanes shall come, and take away both our place and nation*; it was a presage, that the *Romanes* indeed *would come*, and *take away* both: which they did not many yeers after. *Make the heart of this people fat* (saith the Lord by his Prophet, concerning the same people) *and make their eares heavie, and shut their eyes, lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their eares, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed.* I say no more in this, but onely pray with all mine heart, and with all my soul, that the people of this Kingdom, may *see with their eyes*, and *hear with their eares*, *and understand with their hearts*, that they may *convert, and be healed.* The Heathens were wont to say, *Jupiter, quos vult perdere, dementat.*

Psal. 69. 22. Ver. 23.

Ioh. 11. 48.

Isa. 6. 10.

Another objection leavied against the *Way* is this: If this way be let alone, and suffered to take place, it will still undermine the credit and comfort, of many worthy and conscientious Ministers in the land. For as fast as they, through the blessing of God upon their faithfull labours in the work of the Ministery, shall convert souls unto God; this *Way* will allure them away from them unto it self; whereby their hand must needs be enfeebled and discouraged to their work. But to this also I answer.

First, that if that way of Government and worship, wherein those good Ministers shall walk, who are supposed to convert people unto God, be indeed and in truth the *way* of God, there is little ground or cause of fear, that any other way should separate between them and their converted ones. For first, the verie grace of conversion, being dispensed unto these by their hand, is a great and solemne ingagement upon them, to love and honour them above others. Secondly, the person being dearly lov'd, and highly honour'd, gives credit and interest both in the judgements and affections of those who do so love and honour, to all his matters, as well of opinion as practise; at least is com-

pleat armour of proof against any prejudice in respect of either. Thirdly, when men and women are converted unto God, they are endued with a principle of a neerer and more inward sympathie and compliance with all the wayes of God, then they had before. So that there is more cause for Ministers to fear the withdrawing of their people from them before their conversion, then after, in case the way of worship and government which they imbrace, be of God. For in this case and supposition, unconverted ones have no inward suitableness of soul, to incline them to love or delight in it is *way*, and consequently their hearts must needs sit loose (if they stand not in opposition) to it: but those that are converted, are baptized into such a spirit, which is apt to comport and correspond with it. Again

Secondly, if the hearts of men and women upon their conversion unto God, are so generally found (for otherwise there is no place for the jealousie, which is the ground of the objection) to stand in propension to this *way*, is not this an argument, if not demonstrative, yet of a very high importance to evince, that this *way* is of a truth, the *Way* of God? *I will wait on thy Name* (saith *David*) *for it is good before thy Saints*; or, *because thy Saints like it well* (as another translation reads.) So that this great Prophet and King thought the generall approbation and concurrence of the Saints, sufficiently assertive of the acceptablenes of a way or practise, in the sight of God. Psal. 52. 9.

Thirdly, those Ministers who have the spirit of this glory cast upon them by God, to beget sons and daughters unto him by the Gospel, have no cause to envie the line and measure of those who receive them from their hand, upon such terms. That which our Saviour spake in another case, is every whit as considerably true in this: *viz.* that *it is a more blessed thing to give, then to receive*: And the Apostle *Paul* makes no other account, but that his relation of a spirituall Father unto the Corinths, his begetting of them by the Gospel, was much more honourable unto him, then the relation of an Instructor, or builder up, was, or would be unto others: *For though you have ten thousand Instructors in Christ*, (saith he) *yet have ye not many Fathers: for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the Gospel*. And elle-where he counts it a master-piece in the spirituall building, to lay the foundation. Act. 20 35. 1 Cor. 4. 15.

dation. *According to the grace of God which is given to me, as a wise* 1 Cor. 3. 10.
master-builder I have laid the foundation, and another buildeth thereon. So then, *planting* being more Apostolicall then *watering* (it was *Paul* that *planted*, and but *Apollos that watered*, 1 *Cor.* 3. 6.) and laying the foundations of life and immortalitie in men, of a more honourable interpretation, then the building of them up in their Faith; the Ministers so much tendered in the objection, have not the least colour for any such grievance or complaint, as is there presented on their behalf, indeed and in realitie of truth no more, then the Apostles themselves had, for complaining against such Ministers and Pastors, who feed those flocks of Christ which they had first converted unto him. *And without all* Hebr. 7. 7.
contradiction (saith the Apostle) *the lesser is blessed*, but never *envied*, of the greater.

Fourthly (and lastly) the gracious and bountifull God hath so laid it in his counsell and decree, that, though the saying be true, which our Saviour taketh notice of, *Joh.* 4. 37. *That one soweth, and another reapeth*; yet *both he that soweth, and he that reapeth, should rejoyce together*. ver. 36. So that as *Abigail* told *David*, 1 Sam. 25. 30,
that *when the Lord should have done unto him all the good which he* 31.
had promised him, it would be no grief unto him, nor offence of mind, that he had not shed blood causelesse, or avenged himself; no more will it be the least occasion of uncomfortableneſſe or complaint unto Ministers, who have been faithfull unto God, and brought home soules unto him, when *they shall shine like starres in the firmament of* Dan. 12. 3.
Heaven, that some of the children of their labours departed from under their hand when time was, to seek pasture and soul-accommodations else-where.

Another objection seeming to war with an high hand against the way hitherto protested, is this: Can that in reason be thought to be the way of God, which seemeth so onely in the eyes of a few inconsiderable, and (for the most part) illiterate persons? and not rather that, which triumpheth in the vote and suffrage of a Reverend, learned, pious and frequent Assembly; yea and further hath the approbation of many wise and worthy persons Eccles. 9. 11.
in full concurrence with it? Do not wise men see more then those that are weak, and many, then few? I answer,

First, that *Solomon returned, and saw under the Sun, that the*

race is not to the ſwift, nor the battell to the ſtrong, neither yet bread to the wiſe, nor yet riches to men of underſtanding, nor yet favour to men of ſkill; but that time and chance happeneth unto them all; meaning, that God ſtill reſerves a liberty to himſelf to interpoſe, and to carry the iſſues and events of things againſt all advantages and likelihoods of ſecond cauſes, when and where and as oft as he pleaſeth. And therefore as King *Aſa* in his cry unto the Lord his God, ſaid, *It is nothing with thee to help, whether with many, or with them that have no power*: in like manner it is but of one and the ſame conſideration with God, to bleſſe the world with the Revelation of truth, whether it be by few, or by many, by thoſe that are learned, or thoſe that are look'd upon as men of ſmall underſtanding. Nay,

2 Cor. 14.11.

Secondly, if we conſult with the tenor of Gods providence and diſpenſations in this kind, our information or anſwer will be according to the tenor of our Saviours gratulation (being now in a kind of rapture or exultation of ſpirit) unto his Father: *I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou haſt hid theſe things from the wiſe and prudent, and haſt reveal'd them unto babes: even ſo Father, for ſo it ſeemed good in thy ſight.* Though God be at libertie, to make the firſt diſcovery, or communication of the light of his Truth, unto the world, by greater numbers of men, and thoſe learned and in high eſteeme for wiſdome, as by Councels, Synods, and Conventions of men eminent in their qualifications, as well as by one or fewer, and theſe under no great obſervation for either; yet by the more frequent experience of all ages it appeareth, that he taketh pleaſure in this latter way, rather then in the former. Doubtleſſe it was not without ſome very conſiderable ground and reaſon, that that ancient and learned Father **Grego ie Nazianzene* ſhould ſay, that he never ſaw good end, or deſirable ſucceſſe of any Councell; or that they procur'd any decreaſe, but rather increaſe of evils. Yea and adds: that the pertinacious contentions, and inordinate deſires of domineering or bearing rule, were ſuch, as words could not expreſſe. *Him* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *God raiſed up the third day, and ſhewed him openly: not unto all the people, but unto witneſſes choſen before of God, even unto us, who did eat and drink with him after he roſe from the dead.* *Mary* a woman, had both the firſt revelation made

Luk. 10.21.

Act. 10.40-41

"Μηδεμιᾶς συνόδου τέλος εἶδον χρηστὸν, μηδὲ λύσιν κακῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπίδοσιν. Αἱ γὰρ φιλονικίαι, καὶ φιλαρχίαι. καὶ λόγων ἀμηχανίαι. Καὶ θᾶττον ἄν τις ἐγκρατεύσαιτο κακίας ἢ παύσειε τὰς ἀνομίας τοιαύτας; Greg. Naz. Or. 27. ad Procopium.

made unto her of Christs rising againe from the dead, and also the first enterview and sight of him after he was risen. *Joh.* 20. 12. 14. The Scripture takes speciall notice of *Lots* departure from *Abraham*, before God was pleased to make that excellent discovery of himselfe unto him, spoken of, *Gen.* 13. 14, 15, &c. Yea, most of those revelations of himselfe, which he was graciously pleas'd to impart unto his ancient Church of the *Jewes*, were not imparted unto them by their Synedrion or Great Councell, but by particular men; who likewise usually (if not alwayes) received their inspirations from God, in their greatest privacie and sequestration; yea, and that (if the observation of the Rabbins will hold in that behalfe) whilst they were yong. That light of Evangelicall truth, wherein the Reformed Churches rejoyce at this day, yea, and triumph over Antichristian darkness, did not break out of the clouds of Councels and Synods unto them, but God caused it to shine upon them, from scattered and single starres, as *Luther*, *Calvin*, *Zuinglius*, *Martyr*, &c. God never took any pleasure to cumber his arme with flesh and bloud, when he meant to doe any great thing for his Church by it. Wee find him once complaining right out, that *the people were too many for him*, to give deliverance or victory by; but we never heard of any complaint from him that they were too few. And why may we not think, but that God may as well say within himselfe, that there are too many learned and wise men in a great Councell, for him to reveale truth, or to give victory against error by? The reason of this kind of dispensation is obvious; and therefore I forbeare (for the present) to insist upon it. Judg. 7. 2.

3. As a presuming confidence of a mans legge, is a signe of such a *time* or *chance* (in *Solomons* phrase) wherein the *race shall not be to the swift*; and so the challenging a victorie, as it were of course, because we have chariots, and horses, and vast multitudes of men, expert in warre above our enemies, is a presage seldome failing, that *the battell* will *not be to the strong*: in like manner when Synods and Councels shall beare themselves inordinately upon their numbers and multitudes, upon their wisdome, learning, and pietie, and because of these, shall (upon the matter) challenge an infallibilitie (for what doe they lesse, when they command all mens judgements and consciences to bow downe at the feet of their determinations?) this is little lesse then an authorized ground of Divination, that they will miscarry, and that God will not honour

nour them, with the discovery of any of his Truth unto the world. A Synod or Councell, though of men never so conscientious and learned, though never so both frequent and fervent in fasting and prayer before God, that shall assemble and meet together upon such terms, I meane so as either to expect, but especially peremptorily to conclude, before hand, that all men shall make Faith and practise of their decisions, or else be censur'd, and made to suffer like evill doers; doe in this *set up their idols in their heart, and put the stumbling block of their iniquitie before their face:* and consequently devest themselves of that capacitie, wherein they should be meet to enquire of the Lord. *Should I be enquir'd of at all by them?* (saith God himselfe Ezek. 14. 3. of such) Indeed where greater numbers of men, accomplished with grace, and parts of learning, shall assemble together with humilitie and meeknesse, and for ends proportioned to the line and sphere of men, as *viz.* candidly and unpartially to argue and debate, and so to finde out the Truth in things appertaining unto God, onely with an intent and desire to be *helpers* of the Saints, as by making rough things plaine, and things that were hard, easie, and dark things, lightsome, and not to exercise a *dominion over their Faith* (as the Apostle speaketh) by an authoritative commanding them out of their present judgement, what ever it be, to doe homage to the results of their debates, whether they see light and truth in them or no; they may expect a speciall presence of God with them, and the Churches of God about them, may comfortably waite for somewhat more of the minde of Christ from them, then they knew. *In the multitude of* such *Counsellors, there may be safetie,* as *Solomon* speaketh. I would gladly beleeve, if I could find where to set the sole of the foot of such a Faith, that Councels and Synods are wont to meet upon such terms: which if they doe not, I am (almost) as farre out of hope of having *the joy of* my *Faith* holpen or increased by them, as I am of *gathering grapes from thornes, or figgs of thistles.* And therefore,

Ezek. 14. 3.

1 Cor. 1. 24.

Prov. 24. 6.

4. (and lastly) Whereas the objection urgeth, that wise men are like to see more then those that are weake, and many, then few: I answer, That this is not alwayes found true, no not in naturall, civill or artificiall things, wherein notwithstanding there is usually a greater regularitie and uniformitie in the actings and workings of second causes; much lesse is it alwayes true in matters belonging

longing unto God; wherein himselfe more frequently interposeth by his prerogative, and ordereth the tenor and course of occurrences and effects, besides the proportion of second causes, by the good pleasure of his will. All the great and rare inventions of the world, which either former, or latter ages have brought to light, were not the issues or results either of the thoughts or studies of the wisest or learnedest of men, nor yet of the consultations or communications of the greatest numbers or multitudes of men: but the wise Disposer of all things, according to his owne good pleasure and will, cast this honour upon particular and single men, (for the most part) and those not alwayes of the most learned or profound, as by many instances might readily be evicted, if it were necessary. And *Solomon* reports unto us a case, wherein one *poore man by his wisdome delivered a Citie* out of imminent danger; which (it seems) all the rest of the Inhabitants did not see or apprehend how to doe. Yea, in Councels themselves, or greater assemblies of men, it is usually seene that some one, or few, either of predominant parts, or authoritie amongst them, sway and steere all the proceedings, and set the judgements and affections of the rest, though conscientious and learned to a degree. So that upon the matter, and just accompt, the resolutions of Councels and Synods themselves, are but the fruits or putting-forth of the learning, and judgement, of a very few men; and whether these be alwayes of the most conscientious, I had rather others should consider, then I determine. Eccles. 9. 15.

The last objection designed for present examination, is this: that the intent and project of this way, is ambitious, high, and dangerous, that it affecteth a Dictatorship Ecclesiasticall, a power of Law-giving, that it undermines Civill or Parliamentary Authoritie, &c. But to this also we answer (omitting what was formerly said, concerning extravagant height of accusations and charges, and the slender probabilitie of truth in them: as likewise concerning the speciall disposition of God in ordering the malice or ill will of those that are enemies, either to his people or wayes, still to shoote the arrowes of their accusations against their *breast-plate of righteousnesse*, where it is strongest and least penetrable.)

1. That there is not the least colour, no nor the least colour of a colour, to charge any ambitious or Dictator-like designe upon this *Way*. The reason is, because the most essentiall, intrinsecall, and

and fundamentall principles of it, ſtand diametrally bent againſt all dictatoring, and law-giving by men, in the things of God. The Sunne may with as much, or more reaſon be ſuſpected of conſulting darkneſſe againſt the world, as this *Way* of meditating or projecting any Authoritative greatneſſe unto it ſelf in this kinde. Indeed, when it degenerates from it ſelf, and paſſeth into another kind, there may be ſome danger and fear of this *Way*; as there is that Honey ſhould turn into choler, when the native property of it is altered by the ſtomack. A Congregationall man become a Claſſique, may as ſoon as another make a Son of ſuch a deſigne as is ſpecified in the objection.

2. If the *Way* wee ſpeak of, ſhould be ſo contradictory to her ſelf, as to deſire or project ſuch a Kingdome, as ſhe ſtands charged with in the Objection; yet ſhould not the world have the leaſt cauſe to fear her proſecutions or executions in this kinde. If the Lamb in the fold ſhould threaten or project the ſlaughter and deſtruction of all the Lions in the Wilderneſſe, had theſe ever the more cauſe to be afraid of her? The kingdomes and powers of this world, need not fear either the numbers or power of the Saints, for taking away their crowns, or breaking the ſcepters of their rule and government, untill the world that now is be tranſlated into that which is to come. And therefore,

3. Whereas this *Way* is further arreſted by the Objection, for a Pioner and underminer of Magiſtracy, or Parliamentary Authority; I anſwer, that there is no more in this *Way* to undermine or endanger any Civill Authority or Power whatſoever, then there was in *Daniels* heart to prejudice the life and honour of the King, when hee prayed three times a day, (contrary to the Kings commandement) or then was in *Pauls* Doctrine of *Juſtification by Faith* to make voyd the writings of *Moſes*, or the Law; whereby indeed he did *eſtabliſh it* (as himſelf affirmeth, *Rom.* 3. 31.) though the *Jewes* apprehended, and charged him with the contrary. And doubtleſſe the learned Gentleman, who undertakes the *unmasking* of Independency, (which never wore any) is in an utter miſtake, not only of the intentions of the two Brethren of this *Way* (who ever they were) whoſe words he citeth, *p.* 3. of his late *Examination*; but alſo of the rationall and Grammaticall conſtruction and import of the words. For whereas they ſay, *that a man may as well bring a clean thing out of an unclean, as make a ſpirituall extraction*

Dan. 6. 10. 22.

Independency examined, unmask'd, &c.

traction out of a sordid root, the Gentleman will needs interpret, that they make both Parliament and Assembly *secular and unclean*; whereas by the tenor and carriage of the whole passage, it is as clear as the Sun, that in neither of these expressions they reflect either upon the one, or the other; no, nor yet in those following words, wherein they affirm, that *it will be demonstratively prov'd* (against their adversary, who makes the Law of the State the first and most considerable band or tye upon men, for their submission to his Church-government) *that he resolves the government of the Churches of Christ* (*in the last resolution of it*) *into the humors, wills and pleasures of the world, yea, of the vilest and most unworthy of men.* And therefore, whereas upon his citation of these words, his demand is, *Brethren, bona verba quæso*, the Brethren upon his interpretation of them, have far more reason to make this request unto him; Brother, *bonam glossam quæsumus.* The words are good, if the interpretation did but answer. For doubtlesse the Brethren in the mentioned period and expressions, reflected only upon the generality of the people in the Land, who according to the Lawes of the Land; yea, according to the principles of all reason and equity, have the right of nominating persons into the places of Parliamentary trust and power; but have no Authority or power from Christ to nominate or appoint, who shall be the men that shall order the affairs of Christs Kingdome, or institute the government of his Churches. These, and especially the ignorant and irreligious part of them (which they that know any thing concerning the generality of the Kingdome for matters of Religion, must needs know to be far the greater part in every place) are that *secular root*, out of which the Brethren conceive an impossibility, that *a spirituall election should be made*, that is, that a legitimate Ecclesiastique power should according to the minde of Christ, or any precept or president of Scripture, be by them conferred upon any man: and this impossibility conceived by them; they only illustrate and declare by that parallel expression in *Job*, *Who can bring a cleane thing out of an uncleane?* When they imply, that men unworthy, and strangers to the power of godlinesse and matters of Religion, have the right and power of conferring Parliamentary trust and power, upon persons chosen by them hereinto, they reflect not the least touch of prejudice or disparagement upon the persons honoured with that choyce: First, because there is no other way, no, nor is there any conveniency or lawfulnesse of any way whereby to ascend the height of the interest and honour, but such a choyce: And secondly, the votes and voyces of such men being carried upon persons of honour, worth and Religion, demonstrates that there was so much the more of God in their election;

which is so far from diminishing their honour in the least, that it adds double and treble unto it. But to hold that the persons so elected, as hath been said, have a power by vertue of such nomination or election, to enact Laws and Statutes in matters of Religion, and to order under mulcts and penalties, how men shall worship and serve God; as it is a means to awaken the eye of jealousie upon them, and so is seven times more) destructive unto, and undermining, not only of their power, but of their honour, peace, and safety also, then any thing that is found in the *Way* so ill intreated; so is it the seeling of a power upon the electors of such persons, I mean, upon the promiscuous multitude of the Land, a greater power then ever Jesus Christ himself had, at least then ever he exercised. For as *Dare Regem* argues a greater power then *esse Regem*, as hee *that buildeth an house, hath more honour then the house*, *Heb.* 3. 3. So to nominate and appoint who shall have power to umpire in matters of conscience and of God, to determine what shall be preached, and what not, what shall be believed, and what not, is a branch of a greater root of power, then the exercise of the power that is committed unto others in this behalf. Now though Jesus Christ had a power, and was authorized by God to be a Law-giver himself unto his Churches and Saints, in their spirituall Republique; yet it is hard to prove that ever he invested any other with such a power. His Apostles themselves were *no Lords over the Faith* of the Saints; nor had they any power or authority to impose any thing upon men, as necessary, either to be believed or practised, but what they had in expresse commission and charge from Jesus Christ himself to impose upon such terms. So that notwithstanding that severe & angry contestation of the fore-mentioned Gentleman against the two Brethren with their fellows, *Is this your so much boasted of preaching, writing, fighting for the rights & priviledges of Parliament?* whereby he thinks to dash both them and that *their boasting* together out of countenance; though they boast neither little nor much of any thing; boasting is their charge, not their crime; they only say, and that with modesty yet, blessed be God, they are able to maintain and make good that their *boasting* (if it must needs be so called) in the sight of God and Angels, and men, and Devils, and *whatsoever besides is named, not only in this world, but in that also which is to come.* And though he hath done like himself, and (I speak it to his honour) far above the line of many others, in vindicating the rights and priviledges of Parliament; yet (*absit verbo invidia*) I am very confident, that there are thousands of that *Way* and judgement, against which his pen riseth up with so much indignation, who rateably, and according to their means and opportunities, have quitted themselves upon equall

terms

terms of honour, love, and faithfulneſſe, towards thoſe honourable Houſes, with himſelf.

4. (And laſtly) It were no task of much labour or difficulty, to demonſtrate that the *Way*, in the defence whereof we have thus far appeared, is ſo far from carrying any malignity, or ſeed of danger in it to the State, or perſons inveſted with civill power, that it is of a manifeſt and rich compliance both with the one and the other. He that commanded *to give unto Ceſar the things that are Ceſars, and unto God the things that are Gods*: did *Ceſar* as much (if not more) ſervice, in the latter command, as in the former. Silver and gold, wood and ſtone, never got any thing by having an artificiall deity beſtowed upon them, and being worſhiped, but only a meer proximity to deſtruction. They that ſhould only have ſaid unto *Herod*, that he had ſpoken like a ſober and well adviſed man, might have ſhewed as much affection to him, yea, and honoured him upon better terms, then they that ſhouted, *It's the voyce of a God, and not of a man.* There is no foundation ſo ſure and precious to build the honour, peace and ſafety of *Ceſar* upon, as a ſtone duly pitched for a land-mark between God and him. But if there be a queſtion or difficult caſe between God and *Ceſar*, whether ſuch and ſuch things belong unto the one, or unto the other, they will be found the beſt and faithfulleſt Counſellors unto *Ceſar*, who ſhall adviſe him rather to ſurrender unto, then to claim a doubtfull right or priviledge from God. The *Way* we ſpeak of is ſo ingenuous, loyall and true-hearted to men in place of civill authority and power, that it teacheth her ſons to expoſe themſelves unto their diſpleaſure, for the procurement of their good; which even the heathen themſelves have atteſted for one of the beſt and leaſt queſtionable ſigns of true friendſhip and love.

Matth. 22. 21.

Act. 12. 22.

To theſe anſwers of objections, I thought to have added ſome poſitive arguments, whereby the *Way*, now little more then only defended, might have gained the honour of a more perfect conformity to the Will and Word of God, then (perhaps) hath been diſcovered or ſeen hitherto. Yet I cannot but think, that the vailes of the principall objections which covered the face of it, being rent and torn, the beauty and brightneſſe of it muſt needs ſhine forth in the eyes of all thoſe who have not ſacrificed unto partiality.

To cloſe with a word of exhortation. The premiſes conſidered, as we love the things of our peace, and deſire the ſpeedy diſperſion and ſcattering of that dark and black cloud ſtill hanging and hovering over our heads, and threatning more fiery ſtorms & tempeſts of deſolation and blood upon us, and to ſee the heavens cleering up, and looking like Cryſtall or Saphire over us, as we deſire to ſee thoſe terrible ſwarms of

Locuſts

Locusts and Caterpillars, which now devour and eat up our good land daily, swept away and carried by a strong west wind into the midst of the sea, that so we may be fed again, with the ancient heritage of our fathers, I mean plenty, safety, and peace; if there be any bowels, any compassions in us towards our nation, (so far spent & wasted with misery) towards our cities and habitations, towards our friends, towards our selves, towards any thing which is dear either to the one, or to the other; let us be exhorted to take heed of *fighting against God*; let it be the first-born of religious advisements and cautions to us, not to be fierce, no, nor so much as to lift up an hard thought against Doctrine or *Way* claiming origination and descent from God, till wee have security upon security, conditions as cleer as the noon-day, that they are but counterfeits and pretenders only, and stand in no relation at all, but that of enmity and opposition unto God. Particularly, let us be tender above all tenderness, to act to the value of the least hair of our heads in any way of bitterness or blood, against that *Way* of governing the Churches of Christ, which hath by so many good hands been presented unto us as most agreeable unto the Word and Will of God, untill we see the condemnation of it written with a beam of the Sun, by the finger of God himself; untill he hath disclaimed or renounced it from heaven, either by giving such wisdome unto men whereby to detect the error and vanity of it, or else hath quite rased it out of the fleshly tables of the hearts of his Saints, and distrest servants. The motion and matter is of a most serious and formidable importance; therefore let me exhort you yet once more, to *beware of men*, (as our Saviour adviseth, in a case of lesse consequence) to take heed, that no man, either through passionate exclamations and outcries, or through any faire or flourishing pretences whatsoever, draw your foot into this snare, ingage you in any such warfare, wherein, for ought you know, you shall *fight against God*. If your judgements stand off from the cause wee speak of, for the present, and you can see nothing of God in it; you may please to consider, that this was the case of many thousands amongst you, in whom there is much of God, and in whose heart is this *Way*, as a *Way* of his. If they be deceived in imbracing it, God will shew mercy unto them in revealing the truth unto them in due time. But if you shall be deceived in the violence and fury of your *fighting* against it, is it not much to be feared, that you will be intangled with the guilt of such a sin, which *shall not be purged from you till you die?*

Phil. 3. 15.

Isa. 22. 14.

FINIS.

THE SUMME OF A CONFERENCE AT *TERLING* IN *ESSEX*, Ianuarie 11. 1643.

Held betweene

3. Ministers, { *John Stalham* / *John Newton* / *Enoch Grey* } of { Terling. / Little-Baddow. / Wickham. } { Opponents pleading for } Infants Baptisme.

And

2. Catabaptists. { *Timotheus Batt*, Physician / *Thomas Lambe*, Sope-boyler } { of *London*, Respondents denying } Infants Baptisme.

By which, the strength of Truth, and weaknesse of Error, is discovered:

And

Before which, an Epistle more largely is prefixed, to give some light thereunto, and to promote the Cause pleaded for.

2 Cor. 13. 8. *We can doe nothing against the Truth, but for the Truth.*
Gen. 17. 7. *I will establish my Covenant betweene me and thee, &c. to be a God to thee, and to thy seed after thee.*
Acts 2. 39. *The Promise is unto you, and to your Children.*

Veritas quidem claudi & ligari potest, vinci non potest. *Hier.*
Deus, ut personam non accipit, sic nec ætatem, cum se omnibus ad cœlestis gratiæ consecutionem, æqualitate librata, præbeat parem. *Cypr.*
Tantum quisq; proficit in Baptismo, quantum discit in Christum respicere. *Cal.*

LONDON,
Printed by *I. L.* for *Christopher Meredith*, at the signe of the Crane in *Pauls* Church-yard. 1644.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO
ALL REVEREND AND FAITHFVLL
Miniſters of the Goſpel, eſpecially thoſe of the venerable ASSEMBLY,
With
All ſincere Proteſtants, Profeſſors and lovers of the Truth; Grace, Truth and Peace be multiplyed, from God our Father, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by the Spirit of Truth and Holineſſe.

THe miſ-reports of the carriage and ſucceſſe of this Conference might have drawn it forth to your view ere now, for as a Loving and Learned Brother told me when the work was at an end, he deſired our Antagoniſts (or others for them) might not give me the like meaſure, as they did *Zuinglius* who was the more courſely uſed by the *Cata-baptiſts*, (as it is reported in his life *) by how much the more kindly he dealt with them; in affording them Diſputes, and procuring them libertie other wayes: ſo I have found, that his Jealouſie was not without Grounds.

1. Touching the Carriage', notwithſtanding I gave them all free ſcope, in anſwering, (till our time ſet for the Diſpute, was expired) ſo farre as I was blamed by ſome of my Brethren for it, yet it hath been caſt out, that they were interrupted, and that I cavilled, and although they had the libertie they deſired, not to come into the Church, till we had prayed, and to goe out before Sermon, yet all of their partie could not containe, in the concluſion of the diſpute, but muſt vent their ſpirits in the open Congregation, (when the people had given a ſhout by way of Teſtimony, that they received ſatisfaction in the Point, for the baptizing of their Infants) ſaying, *Great is the God* (a) *of Diana*, and therefore you muſt cry him up. And albeit, I ſpake in the behalfe of the two Reſpondents the next day, before the honoured Committee at *Chelmerford* (who did wiſely and lovingly demand of me, and them an account of that dayes meeting) and declined any perſonall information againſt them, then and ſince, yet have they wanted love to interpret things aright, and have aſperſt me and my Brethren joyning with me; which I forbeare to mention in the particu-

* *Habita ſunt diſputationes cum ipſis ſeria, in quibus utrum convicii, blaſphemiis & convitiis deputarunt, in Anabaptiſtas* [& ſub hac verba] *Alpha eorum fuit* Balthaſar Hubinerus; *Apoſtata iſtorum, ſtrenuusque factor, qui Zuinglii beneficio liberatus* [e carcere] *gratiam eam retulit, quam mundus ſolet. Tanta enim exercitia virum*

bene de ſe meritum contra rebelles non dubitavit; at Apologia ſatisfacere frontibus habuit neceſſe. Melch. Adamus in vita Zuing. a This is ſome new God, or as ignorant an expreſſion, as that of the Town Clarke of *Epheſus*, who called *Diana*, the Image that fell down from *Jupiter*.

lars; the rather, becauſe there are thoſe on our ſide, who have aſperſt them, and have given reviling for reviling; as if the Devill (the accuſer of the Brethren) on both ſides had a party of cloven tongues, ſet on fire of hell, to foment diviſions, and by differences of judgements, to encreaſe alienation of Affections.

2. Touching the ſucceſſe, although the two Reſpondents went out of Town, one of them waved it, ſaying, the people needed not to have ſhouted; we could have ſhouted as well as they, for neither they nor we had the victory, (which for my part I ſought not but in the Truth) yet their partie boaſted of their gaines of Diſciples by that dayes worke. One indeed ſome of the countrey takes notice of, who was ſtaggered before and preſently (as is ſaid) fell to them; but we have many to ſet againſt that one, who being ſtaggered alſo before, received ſober ſatisfaction, and are ſettled for Pædo-Baptiſme. And this benefit I received by ſo publique a reaſoning with them, in my own place, that we have been more quiet ever ſince, and the Anabaptiſts hereabouts have not been ſo briske in their challenges, nor have our peoples-ſcruples (who joyne with us) been raiſed again, but buried in ſilence, and cruſht in the egge, upon the remembrance of what paſſed that day; ſo as theſe miſ-reports of our carriage, and ſucceſſe have been of no force with me, to publiſh this naked view of our diſcurſive diſpute, ſince that time.

But ſome other more weightie reaſons, of late preſented, as

1. The hopes of truths advancement hereby; As ſome light came to many, by this verball conflict, ſo much more impreſſion upon mens minds may it take, and to many more may there be advantage by its impreſſion on the paper: As I loſt none of my own, but helpt to ſtrengthen them, ſo I ſhall feare no loſſe elſe-where, but expect gaines to the truth thereby; and deſire that even that one ſtrayed ſheepe, may be fetcht backe, who went after the Anabaptiſts whiſtle that day.

2. The deſire, and encouragements of many Brethren, to ſee it abroad, as a Manuſcript, or from the Preſſe.

3. The Cata-Baptiſts excuſes, that the chiefe Reſpondent was too weake, for ſuch an encounter (what then was his ſecond?) but if he who ſtood in the middle, as the third man (b who at *Wickham* declined a Moderator, and moderated this day by his ſilence, who had libertie from us, but no liſt from his own ſpirit bound up, it ſeemes this day, from ſpeaking one word in publique) if he had but given anſwer, it had been done more ſolidly; And there were others in *London* (though theſe, as two chiefe Champions, in their own if not in others conceits, were drawn downfrom thence to this skirmiſh) who would have held us more tacke; Now fithence they doe excuſe it this way, let the Arguments appeare to all, and let ſtronger and clearer anſwers be given, if they have them, by any of that ſect, or profeſſion.

b Below.

As much faithfulneſſe hath been uſed, by comparing of the notes of the two Scribes ſet to write from our mouthes, as they can expect; what was much deficient in the one, hath been ſupplyed by the exacter notes of the other; nothing of moment is prætermitted; c here is the ſumme of the Arguments and Anſwers, as they were uttered (as neere as could be taken) *verbatim*; nothing of our, or their ſence is altered, nor any of their expreſſions changed, ſo farre as I remember. As for Battologies they cannot be taken ſo ill in the chiefe Reſpondent, if thereby he doth anſwer his name more then the Argument. But where their anſwers are more obſcure, let it not prejudice our Cauſe, but their own, who were ſo confounded as ſometimes they gave no anſwer, ſometimes ſo darke, as it was difficult to make out their meaning and frame a Reply; And why we ſhould mend any thing in their Anſwers, ſo as to alter, and better their ſence I know no reaſon; haply that which is non-ſence to us, is all-ſence and good reaſon to them.

c Vnleſſe it be thought to be Maſter *Batts* 2d. *worke*, once and again uſed, but it is forgotten where it came in.

You muſt expect Reverend and Beloved Readers, to finde weakneſſes enough in the Opponents, as in the Reſpondents; but as I hope,

d Pag. 8. line 17. 1. No Falſhoods, ſuch as in their Anſwers, d that the Apoſtle, *Gal.* 3. 17. doth not argue

from time, and that children coming of beleeving Parents, by lineall descent are not in Covenant with their Parents, but that such [e] lineall descent is broken. [e] Pag. 22. l. 35.

2. No Absurdities with untruths, such as that (among others) most notorious, (wherein both the Respondents agreed) [f] It is not enough for a truth to be implyed in Scripture, but it must be expresst; which made the common countrey-countenances to smile, at the grosseneſſe thereof. [f] Pag. 9. l. 7. 10. l. 11.

3. No Tergiversations, as you will finde them common in their answers, when a Proposition was clearely proved then to wave the proofe, not acknowledge the truth, but runne to another thing, as in the places quoted in the margent [g] (amongst many other) is manifest. [g] Pag. 7. l. 14. 10. l. 13. p. 13. 24. p. 17. l. 20.

4. No Contradictions to our selves, or one of us to another, as first you will find Master *Batt* contradicting himself, for [h] he denieth to me that the Promise was the Ground of *Abrahams* seale, and yet he neither doth nor will deny to Master *Newton*, [i] that *Abraham* and his seed were Circumcised, because it was a seale of the Covenant. Again, the Gospel (he saith [k]) makes an offer to Infants as to all the world, and [l] the Promise is preached to all mankinde, and if free grace be to all, we exclude no Infants more then other, and yet presently after, [m] we deny to preach the Grace of God to Infants till they are capable of understanding. Again to Master *Grey*, [n] he distinguisheth of a Promise of the Spirit, with Union according to Election, and visible revealing by the offer of grace, he grants the former, that is, a promise of the Spirit, and union according to Election, and denyes the latter, visible revealing by offer of grace, and participation of Priviledge. Now who told him that Children have the promise of Union, &c. if that it be not audibly revealed, by some offer of grace, and if it be audibly revealed in the word, we shall finde a way, to have it visibly revealed also, in the Sacrament, in which the offer of grace is again made, and sealed over [and] above, the participation of which offer, and seale, is surely a participation of priviledge. [h] Pag. 19. l. 1. [i] Pag. 23. l. 13. [k] Pag. 18. l. 16. [l] Pag. 20. l. 38. [m] Pag. 27. l. 8. [n] Pag. 34. l. 17.

2. You will finde Master *Lambe* interfering, in his own Answers, with himselfe, for in one place [o] he saith, that Grace is no more tendred to Children [p], then to all the world; and yet in the next Answer; if they come in after, the promise is theirs; and there is no participation of the Covenant but by actuall faith; Now if children have the tender of grace in Infancy (as he grants) it is by vertue of some Covenant, which God holds forth to them from Infancy, or not; if by vertue of some Covenant, then they may have some participation of it, or relation to it before actuall faith; if the tender be made without a Covenant, then the offer is not grounded upon the Covenant, contrary to *Gen.* 3. 15. whence all offers of grace had their first rise: so that, let him grant an offer without a Covenant, he contradicts the Scripture, let him grant an offer, by vertue of a Covenant, he contradicts himself. [o] Pag. 31. l. 17. [p] Pag. 32. l. 5. &c.

Yet further, in this, they both are agreed in a contradiction; for Master *Lambe* supposeth an offer made to Children [q], yea grants it: and Master *Batt* doth yield it also [r], and yet all along they deny any Confirmation; for these be the words [t], what is an offer without a confirmation? now who denyes this confirmation? not we, not God, but themselves, and by such a denyall, implicitely they deny the offer: For if God offers grace to them by word, he offers it to them by seale. The very grant of an offer to children, while children, implieth that the love of God is to them, in that state, and having his Chosen among them, for their sakes the Offer promiscuously is made, and the Seale set, where the Parents do but come in, and embrace that Offer for themselves and Children, but deny this seale, and deny the offer. [q] Pag. 31. l. 18. [r] line 37. [t] Pag. 18. l. 16. [u] Pag. 31. l. 28.

And as thus they interfere with themselves, so they crosse shins one with another; First *Batt* goes crosse to *Lambe*; If children come in after (saith *Lambe* [u]) the promise is theirs; yet *Batt* [x] grants them the promise of the Spirit and of union according to election, and membership according to union, during infancie: Secondly, *Lambe* strikes pointblanke against *Batt*, [y] for M. *Batt* denieth not Circumcision to be given as a seale of the Covenant, but [x] Pag. 34. l. 16. [y] Pag. 23. l. 13.

Pag. 23. l. 14. Pag. 32. l. 24.

but M. *Lambe* saith contrary in his Booke (as M. *Newton* replied to M. *Batt*, a) 'tis true in answer to M. *Newton* afterwards, a *Lambe* saith, that they were circumcised because the Covenant was made to them, and to the seed, (but how? as) typically promising Christ: which Covenant, in his Book, b he saith, they were legally in, and according to Law; and this legall administration was, in his sense, onely sealed by Circumcision, not the substance of the Covenant; Christ yesterday, to day, and for ever the same; Nay, by reason of different circumstantiall administrations, he goes about to overthrow the identitie and sameneſse of the Covenant, then and now for substance, which is very fallacious reasoning; The Lord rebuke him for it.

A Confutation of Infants Baptisme by *Thomas Lambe*, p. 17. & 18. with 10. & 11.

I would not by this draught and discovery of their wandrings from the truth stretch out, but streighten this Controverſie of Pædo-Baptisme: The Pharisees were blamed by our Lord for making broad their Phylacteries out of vaine ostentation, and to multiply needleſse differences would incurre the blame of vaine jangling; what I have displayed, is for their conviction, and truths vindication. Now what remaineth, but that with this conference, such as it is, I presens some requests, to our worthy Readers?

Two suits I shall humbly make to my Fathers and Brethren of the reverend Assembly, as else-where, which granted may be as two buckets of water, the more speedily to quench the fire, and put out all the sparkes of this Controverſie Pædo-Baptisme.

First, that some select members of the Assembly, may (at best leisure) come forth and challenge the chiefest Champions among these Anabaptists (which they can draw forth in all England) in some publique way of disputation with them; nay my request is, but to answer their challenge, for there is one c hath cast the Gauntlet amongst you, and tells all the world that Truth was not used to feare colours; and they that be assured of her, should desire all mens mouthes may be open, that so Error may discover its foulenesse, and Truth become more glorious, by a victorious conquest in the open field. And I know you would be loath to buffet these Adversaries, while their hands are bound, as he (who hath no compassion on our Divines, but gores them extremely,) peakes daringly, and rudely in that his Challenge.

Author of a book called the Compassionate Samaritan, pag. 3, 59.

And however (as I said at first) some have met with *Zuinglius* measure, yet I doubt not, but you may meet with *Bullingers* successe, d who by such a way of publique disputation, did quash them very much. And sure it is a way of God, not onely to discourse out of the Pulpit an houre or two against this way of men (who deny Infants, one baptisme, and indulge themselves a second, and a third Use, or abuse rather of that Ordinance) but to argue with them; as it was the Lords practise so to strangle his opposers, and accordingly, it is the Apostles rule, to stop the mouthes of Gain-sayers; by doctrinall conviction, and rationall argumentation; without which, the Prelates bare Inhibition did alwaies *male audire* amongst all good men: And though there ought to be a charge that none doe ἐπισκοπεῖν, yet as the Apostle gives reasons of that his charge, and as he vouchsafed to dispute in the Synagogue with the Jewes, and with the devout persons, &c. so must we with these kind of Professours. Let them be called forth to answer your Arguments; let their reasons pretensed at any time, receive a full Answer; and never a booke which they can with any faire and seeming reason compose, be suppressed, till it be truely and rationally confuted. Why should they have more hands at worke then your selves? And if they complaine the Presses be not open, let them be open (*annuente, modo non cohibente, magistratu*) for them, as against them: If after all meanes used, as *Jannes* and *Jambres* withstood *Moses*, so these also shall resist the truth, as men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith; the Apostles words shall be made good, e ἐπὶ πλεῖον προκόψουσιν, they shall proceed no further, unlesse it be, as he saith after f, ἐπὶ χεῖρον, from worse to worse; and as in another place g, ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀσεβείας, unto more ungodlinesse: For the more of their owne conceptions they vent in their Disputes and Pamphlets, the more their folly shall be manifest

Pag. 33. l. 14. Pag. 32. l. 24.

Cum his [*Anabaptistis*] *publica disputatione conflictus coram universa Ecclesia, etiam cunctis maximo ex parte invitis.* Mel. Ada. in vita Bulling.

ἐπισκοπεῖν, Idem licitum primis, Matth. 22. 34. Piscat. in Tit. 1. 9.

a 1 Tim. 1. 3. Act. 17. 17.

b 2 Tim. 3. 9.

c Vers. 13.

d 2 Tim. 2. 16.

manifeſt unto all men; and ſo the opening of the Preſſe for them ſhall turne againſt them, and their libertie pleaded for (to ſpeake their minds) ſhall fairly turne to their greater Reſtraint. But this, with the following ſuit, I doe humbly lay at your feet, with ſubmiſſion to your wiſdomes, in the Lord, to conſider of, and to reſolve upon, as the God of love, and Father of lights ſhall guide you.

Secondly then, my requeſt is: That the practiſe of Antiquitie may fully be cleared, and laid before them: what it was, touching this ſubject of Baptiſme, and what therein was agreeable to the rule of the Scripture, what not, for they have boaſted much; as if they had all Antiquitie on their ſide. But as they can ſhew nothing againſt Pædo-Baptiſme, from Scripture; ſo little out of the practice of the Ancients: though I have read little of them, *pro* or *con*, (and the leſſe becauſe I have ever wanted wherewithall to purchaſe their Writings) yet others, amongſt you, have, as appeareth partly by what our *Antefignanus*, and learned Brother, whoſe praiſe is in the Goſpel, hath lately preacht and put forth of this Subject [h]. But be it granted that the ancient way was various; yet let it be put to the Queſtion, Whether their practiſe (who delayed the baptizing of their children, not for weekes and moneths, but yeares three, foure, five, and more alſo) was the beſt? And they (who like dwarfes ſtand upon the gyants ſhoulders, and have ſurveyed this practiſe, and compared it with the Scripture; I meane our moderne Authours, who have wrote ſince Gods people in *Europe*, have beene coming out of Babylon from *Luthers* time downwards) have, ſo farre as I find, generally condemned ſuch delayes. *Beza* in his Epiſtle [i] to *Grindall*, doth put ſuch delayes of old upon the negligence of Biſhops [k], who (for want of a better direction) tooke in the Queſtions, *Abrenuntias?* Doſt thou forſake, &c. *Credis?* Doſt thou beleeve, &c. as applyable to Infants baptizing; whereupon (as he doubts not) many were driven to deferre the baptizing of their children for the longer time, which delay he rejects with an *Abſit!* And in his Cyclops or Dialogue againſt *Heſhuſius* [l]; he doth onely ſo farre countenance ſuch a delay, as it oppoſed the opinion of the abſolute neceſſitie of Baptiſme to ſalvation; but in it ſelfe, the putting off this Ordinance (as *Beza* there reſolveth) was taken up, *nulla certa ratione, & nullo verbi Teſtimonio*: for certaine, without any good reaſon, or found Teſtimonie of the word: And I find him elſe-where [m] not only charging it upon the connivence and negligence of Biſhops; but alledging *Nazianzen* as one, who though he was not baptized himſelfe, till the thirtieth yeare; yet blameth the long delay of Baptiſme, beyond the third year: from which opinion of libertie till the third yeare, *niſi periculum urgeat*; except ſome hazard of life preſſe to it, we may ſafely (with *Beza*) diſſent; for by this kind of ſtating the Queſtion, is involved the conceit of abſolute neceſſitie on the one ſide, that it be done, and of various libertie on the other ſide, that it may be done at length and leiſure. For my part, I ſhould be loth (as * *Muſculus* ſaith the like) to be a favourer of ſuch a whiling off the time, not onely out of reſpect to the manners of the Age, which he did, or we doe live in, that call for religious education of children from the cradle, but in regard of reaſons and grounds from Scripture, which have the force of a Rule unto us; for their more ſpeedy baptizing. For if children be entred under a promiſe from their Infancie, they ſhould have the Sacrament of their entrance, as ſoone as conveniently and ſafely they may be brought into the publike Lap of the Congregation: 'tis true, as to the comfort of Baptiſme it chiefly conſiſteth in the efficacie, not in the time, yet ſo farre as we looke to what is dutie, by the Promiſe, which is held forth from Infancie, the obligation of ſome command (which lieth in the bowels of a Promiſe [n]) confines us to ſome time in Infancie; and the comfort is not leſſe, but more, if God hath prevented us with a Promiſe, and præ-ſignation of that Promiſe, in Infancie. And if he tieth us to meaner (though himſelfe be not tied when he will conferre the grace) I ſuppoſe he tieth us to the uſe of the meanes, in that time, when he gives the Promiſe, which is in Infancy.

Nor let this be imputed to our over-large charitie, for I conceive that our charitie (not being

[h] Maſter *Stephen Marſhall* Sermon of the Baptizing of Infants, p. 3, 4, 5.

[i] *Beza. epiſt.* 8.

[k] Let the Anabaptiſts welcome this, we ſay, that Infants baptizing came from the Pope, when as it ſtrait appears, that the delay of their Baptiſme came from the Prelates who be the Popes, rather then the Prelacy ſhall be weakned, will weaken the authoritie of Pædo-Baptiſme; Dr. *Hall* in his Plea for Epiſcopacy *Iure Divino*, of which *A.* makes very fit uſe, to ſtrengthen his cauſe, in his Book entituled *The vanitie of Caſuiſtic Baptiſme* part. 1 pag. 30.

[l] *Beza opuſc.* vol. 1. pag. 334.

[m] *Beza opuſc.* vol. 3. p. 349.

* *Nolim ego ſuſcipere dilationis oſtia author, ſed hoc magis optarim, ut ea ſana fide & ingenuis non auſim neglectim, ſed præpropere & quo, non tardius adhibenda ad initiandum Sacramentum parvuli fidelium.* Muſc. Loc. Com de Pædo-baptiſmate. pag. 311.

[n] *Pſal.* 105. 8. The word [ ] the Covenant which he commanded, &c.

being

being larger then Gods promise) cannot exceed its bounds. And though the promise doth not infallibly assure us, that all our children shall have the Grace given them, because we use the meanes, or because the children come of beleeving parents; yet beleeving parents having a promise for them, and theirs, and all theirs, may, and ought to plead it before the Church, for the Seal, and before the Lord, for the Grace sealed, till he shall be pleased to determine the contrary for spirituals; and (as in the case of *Ishmael*) limit his accomplishments of the promise to some temporall blessings, which yet he doth declare to be with reference to *Abraham* (and consequently to any other beleever) as his seed o. And albeit God so limits his accomplishments of indefinite promises, to some of the seed of beleevers in temporalls; yet to others he hath a purpose (and reveales as much in the promises all along the Scripture p) that one or other of a godly mans children (whether of the immediate parent, or some Progenitor, I dispute it not) shall infallibly have the saving grace of the Promise, as the full and highest end and effect of it.

Gen. 17. 18, 20. with cap. 21. 13.

Psal. 112. 2. Prov. 20. 7. Isa. 44. 3. and 59.

Now that which I would entreat, and begge of all Professors, and lovers of the truth, is, that in reading of the following Conference, you lay aside all prejudice, and partialitie, and that you passe not your censure upon it, without charitie: nor yet hatefully revile men of a contrary way to your selves, but endevour to winne them in to the truth by love: And (as the Apostle, from the Lord commands) first prove all things, and then hold fast that which is good: There is a goodnesse in every truth, which well digested by faith and meditation, will have influence upon your hearts to lead you on in godlinesse, and to make you better, as wiser. Consider those in Error with pitie, and pray for them; consider your selves, and watch unto prayer for your selves, lest you be also tempted: Beare one anothers burden, and forbeare one another in love, and so fulfill the law of Christ as we are all (who professe to beare his yoke) commanded of him, and engaged to him.

1 Thess. 5. 21.

Col. 1. 2. Col. 3. 13.

And that which, bowing my knees to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I doe begge of him is, that what truth there is in the following Book, may be received in love; and what Errors are vented, may be rejected with hatred. And that he would turne to the people (as he hath promised) a pure lip, and language, that they may speake and mind one thing, and serve him with one shoulder and consent: That the Churches Truth and Peace once settled, may helpe to settle the Peace and Prosperitie of the three Kingdomes, till the Lord Christ take to himselfe all his great Power, and make all the Kingdomes of this World his owne, for speciall Government and Protection, and till he hath finished his Churches Reformation q here in Grace, and Salvation for ever in Glory. Even so, Come Lord Jesus, come quickly. *Amen.* So prayeth, waiteth, and resteth,

Zeph 3. 9.

Tales cupium, sic impetitum a Domini Bez. Ps. 12.

Your unworthy Brother, and
Servant in the Gospel,

JOHN STALHAM.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Errata.

Page 2. line 7, 29. ult. for particular read particular: the like p. 28. l. 27. p. 2. l. 9. for assistance r. assistants p. 3. l. 30. for syiogistically r. syllogistically p. 6. l. 14. for one r. on p. 13. l. 5. for beleave r. beleever l. 6. for privilege r. priviledge.

THE SVMME OF A CONFERENCE TOVCHING INFANTS-BAPTISME.

After Prayer, the Introduction to the Conference was as followeth.

Mr. *Stalham.*

THe occasion of this great concourse I do not well know; nor the occasion, of a meeting here in this Congregation, other, then that some of this Parish doe differ from me in the point of Baptisme; with whom I have conferred heretofore but have not prevailed, in regaining their consents to the ancient judgement in the particular point of baptizing Infants; And being drawne in of late at the request of a brother here present, to give my presence, and poore assistance at a Conference or Dispute that was held at Wickham, the Dispute being begun before I came; yet being called then to moderate things betweene the Minister of Wickham, * and the partie here present; by whom a Moderator was declined, I was drawne out by his questions to give some answer: after the time was spent, it seemes no satisfaction was given, on either side, yet we so farre prevailed, even with him that stands here as opposite to us, that he concluded with a desire, if he were in an error, that we would pity him, and pray for him; which did the more incline my spirit in a loving way to give

* Mr. *Grey.*

another meeting; reſolving to the uttermoſt I could, that truth ſhould conquer whereſoever it lights; for we come not here this day for victory, but for truth; for taking ſides this, or that way; but for ſiding with Chriſt and his truth; and for cloſing with him in all he hath diſcovered to us; that he may beare us up; and ſtabliſh us in the preſent truth. And it was agreed becauſe they declined a perticular Moderator that there ſhould be two appointed to ſpeake, and other aſſiſtance on each ſide, to put in, as occaſion ſerveth, who ſhould be named; and have libertie to ſpeake and no other; that there be no tumultuous carriage in the buſineſſe; for God that is the God of order, and not of confuſion; doth not call us hither to that end; but to behave our ſelves in as holy, and loving, and pious, and ſelfe-denying a way, as may be, that the crowne at laſt may be ſet upon the head of truth, and of Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe, who is the King of truth, and Truth it ſelfe; and that he himſelfe and not we, carry away the victory. Now beloved, in ſo great a concourſe of people as here is, unexpected, if you look for ſatisfaction at the creatures hands; it is not to be had. God grant there be none come hither as they did to that Aſſembly in the *Acts*, not knowing wherefore they came together, but onely for company. The Lord keepe us from perils of falſe Brethren, that are readie to miſ-conſtrue and miſ-relate things afterwards.

*Mr. *Lawrey*. And as our Brother * ſweetly put up a requeſt to God; that he would keepe us in his preſence, not to ſeeke our ſelves, but to lay downe our ſelves at the foot of truth, and that the word may judge betweene us now, as well as it ſhall judge us at the laſt day. If you make it appeare who are the perticular perſons that are to reaſon with me, I ſhall addreſſe my ſelfe to the worke; for I cannot prevaile with any Brother to come into this place: I expected it not my ſelfe, being one of the weakeſt of tenne thouſand, for God and for his truth; and am jealous the truth may ſuffer through my weake managing of it: But as *Abraham* went out not knowing whither he went, ſeeing the call of God, and depending on his preſence and aſſiſtance I undertooke the worke. I deſire therefore to know who is the perticular perſon,

perſon, that is either to oppoſe, or anſwer, as you pleaſe to take it; take the Opponents or Reſpondents place.

Mr. Batt.

If you will be pleaſed to lend your attention to a word or two; Men, Brethren, and Fathers; It is not unknowne unto you, that the great difference now in this Kingdome, conſiſts of two things; of the Doctrine of Baptiſme; and of Free grace: concerning the matter of free grace we ſhall not at this time ſpeake of: But as I conceive the matter is concerning the adminiſtration of Baptiſme to infants, which Schollers have taught and hold neceſſarie: For our parts, I deſire to anſwer, that we ſeeke not the glory of the creature, nor the honour thereof, but to hold to the firſt truth, delivered to the Saints, we hold no more, but that which the Apoſtles practically did hold; we have neither new Law, nor Lord, but Ieſus Chriſt, and therefore retaining the ſame Lord, there is the ſame Law: And therefore our friends, we wiſh you well, We deſire that love, which the Father hath given for us, and we deſire that the throne of grace will witneſſe for us, who is in the truth; and whether God hath not given us the ancient truth in Ieſus: And I am the man to anſwer, in this Diſpute, who ſhall handle things dianoetically, or axiomatically; as you pleaſe: And the Lord aſſiſt us.

Stal. Whom doe you call in (under God) to your aſſiſtance?

Batt. *If occaſion be, one of theſe two neighbours, if not, there needs none.*

Stal. And if occaſion be, I deſire one or two of my Brethren in the deske to put in with me.

Batt. *Be it ſo, we are content.*

Stal. The point then to be handled, and that Sylogiſtically, is this; Whether or no, the Infants of beleeving parents are to be baptized? Our friends which ſtand in oppoſition to us, they doe as yet profeſſe they hold out the Negative part, doe you not?

Batt. *Yes.*

Stal. I hold the Affirmative, that ſuch Infants are to be baptized: And I ſhall lay for a Subſtratum, and foundation of all Arguments, that I ſhall produce for it, this one maine

Argument: That which is deduced from Scripture by direct and ſound conſequence, is implied in the Scripture and hath authoritie from the Scripture, as if it were there in expreſſe words; but the baptizing of infants is deduced from Scripture, by direct and ſound conſequence, and therefore is implied in Scripture, and is of the ſame authoritie as if it were there in expreſſe termes.

Batt. *I deny your Minor.*

Stal. Doe you grant the Major? elſe I will prove it by Scripture.

Batt. *Prove your Minor of abſolute conſequence, that children are to be baptized.*

Stal. I will prove it (but firſt, touching the Major and the Minor I would have all to underſtand they are the two Propoſitions in a Syllogiſme. The Major is the firſt, the Minor Propoſition is the ſecond. And from thoſe two premiſes, ariſe the concluſion: The Minor I prove it thus) They who are included in the ſubſtance of the Goſpel Covenant are not to be excluded from the ſeale of the Covenant, but Infants are included in the ſubſtance of the Goſpel Covenant, and therefore not to be excluded from the ſeale of the Goſpel covenant.

Batt. *Diſcover your Minor, in the covenant, whether you inferre all infants, or ſome infants.*

Stal. Sir: That is another Queſtion, I meane indefinitely as I ſpeake, I doe not maintaine the baptizing of all infants through the world, but this is my Minor; Infants are included, &c.

Batt. *Prove the Minor that they are included.*

Stal. That Infants are included in the ſubſtance of the Goſpel covenant; turne to the 17. of *Geneſis*, and the 7. *verſ.* I will eſtabliſh my covenant betweene me and thee, and thy ſeede after thee in their generations for an everlaſting covenant to be a God unto thee and to thy ſeed after thee. This promiſe here is a Goſpel Covenant, a moſt ſubſtantiall Goſpel Covenant, as any is in Scripture; but in this Goſpel Covenant the Infants of beleeving parents are included; I will be a God to thee and to thy ſeed after thee, &c. Now what doe you anſwer?

Batt.

Batt. *To give an anſwer, to this upon diſtinction; I will eſtabliſh my Covenant with me and thee and thy ſeed after thee; I anſwer in diſtinction; The Covenant of God is according to the ſeed, the ſeed of Abraham a carnall or a ſpirituall ſeed; if carnall then them that are borne according to the fleſh, if ſpirituall, then none but they that are called by the word and Goſpel; that are in any union with Chriſt, and in communion with Ieſus Chriſt: this I anſwer upon diſtinction. I will make a covenant with me and thee, and with thy ſeed.*

Stal. For ſeeds you diſtinguiſh, but what ſeed doe you include or exclude; doe you include the ſpirituall, and exclude the carnall.

Batt. *The carnall ſeed of* Abraham *according to the fleſh, We underſtand according to the Scripture; a twofold ſeed, a ſeed according to the fleſh, and a ſeed according to the ſpirit: I will make a Covenant with me, and thee, and thy ſeed; that is, the ſeed of* Abraham, *not according to the fleſh but to the ſpirit: your interpretation will not hold; you ſay to children: you include the children according to the fleſh; I will eſtabliſh my Covenant with me, and thee, and thy ſeed, and the ſeed are carnall or ſpirituall: Now this promiſe is not onely to the carnall, but to the ſpirituall ſeed.*

Stal. Doe you grant the carnall ſeed? then you grant my Minor propoſition.

Batt. *When we grant the carnall ſeed We grant them to be the progenie of* Abraham *that were the Iewes: but when of a ſpirituall ſeed, We ſpeake of thoſe that are in communion with the Lord, and thoſe that are not conditionally but abſolutely called.*

Stal. This you ſaid before; but what meane you by an abſolute call?

Batt. *By an abſolute call, I underſtand that evidence of divine power made manifeſt by the Goſpel, that I, that was before a child of nature, and ſo of wrath, am now become an heire of ſalvation and glory with Ieſus Chriſt.*

Stal. The carnall ſeed then is wholly excluded.

Batt. *Becauſe the Goſpel Covenant is made to the ſpirituall ſeed.*

Stal. But if you grant the Goſpel Covenant is to the carnall alſo; you grant the Minor propoſition.

Batt. *If we grant the ſeed of* Abraham *on the one hand and on the other hand; We grant it, but you take it onely for the carnall, that they are in the Covenant.*

Stal. Onely, No, but I bring this Scripture to prove the Minor, which is this, that Infants are included in the Goſpel Covenant; I will eſtabliſh my Covenant with me, and thee, and thy ſeed after thee: Now that ſeed was the poſteritie of *Abraham*, a beleever, and the carnall ſeed according to the fleſh (take them as Infants) are in the Goſpel Covenant, which if you grant, with the ſpirituall ſeed; I have what I deſire.

Batt. *You have nothing, as thus: I anſwer one diſtinction, we grant you nothing, in granting the ſeed of* Abraham *according to the fleſh; I am the ſeed of* Abraham *according to the fleſh, or according to the ſpirit; and if not of the fleſh, I am the ſeed of* Abraham *in the ſpirit; therefore in the Goſpel covenant.*

Stal. But what is meant by the ſeed of *Abraham* in this place? the ſpirituall or carnall ſeed?

Batt. *We anſwer; In referring you to the Holy Ghoſt; in the* 3. *of the* Galatians *and the* 16.

Stal. Then you deny the carnall ſeed?

Batt. *Yes, for the holy Ghoſt anſwers, in the* 3. *to the* Galatians, *and the* 16. *Now to* Abraham *and his ſeed were the promiſes made, he ſaith not and to ſeeds as of many, but as of one, and to thy ſeed which is Chriſt; and now Chriſt conſidered myſtically; is conſidered in reſpect of himſelfe or his members; and the members none are his, but they that are his ſpiritually, and in reference to this ſeed, God ſaith, he will make a Covenant, &c.*

Stal. I will prove it that the Apoſtle in the 3. of the *Galatians* and the 16. hath not reference to this promiſe, in *Geneſis* the 17.

Grey. He flies from the point.

Stal. I know he is fled from the point; for we denie not but the promiſe is to the ſpirituall; but therefore ſaith he, the carnall is excluded; and therefore brings in this place of the

the *Galatians*; but I will prove that *Galatians* the 3. and the 16. hath not reference to this in *Geneſis* the 17.

Batt. *That that Scripture hath not reference to this place; prove it.*

Stal. That I will; the promiſe the Apoſtle ſpeakes of there, in the 3. of the *Galatians* and the 16. was given foure hundred and thirty yeares before the Law; but this promiſe in the 17. of *Geneſis* and the 7. was not given foure hundred and thirtie yeares before the Law, therefore that in *Galatians* the 3. and the 16. hath not reference unto *Geneſis* the 17. and the 7.

Batt. *No, why not?*

Stal. Becauſe of the different time.

Batt. *You ſpeake of the time; but compare Scripture with Scripture; compare verſe with verſe; the promiſes made to* Abraham, *to Chriſt the ſeed; he ſpeakes of a ſeed, was it not of Ieſus Chriſt?*

Stal. That promiſe the Apoſtle ſpeakes of, in the *Galatians*, hath direct reference to Ieſus Chriſt, but this in *Geneſis* the 17. ſpeakes of the ſeed according to the fleſh; and may include Chriſt; but no further then as he came of *Abrahams* fleſh.

Batt. *I will prove it.*

Stal. Nay Sir; It is my place to prove what I have ſaid, you doe wrongly expound *Geneſis* the 17. and the 7. by *Galatians* the 3. and the 16. That expoſition which doth vary from the ſenſe and the ſcope of the holy Ghoſt is a falſe expoſition; but this expoſition you give out of the 3. of the *Galatians* and the 16. varieth from the mind of the holy Ghoſt, what doe you deny?

Batt. *My denial is this, that this expoſition varieth not from the mind of the holy Ghoſt.*

Stal. I prove it doth; The mind of the holy Ghoſt in *Galatians* the 3. the 16. and the 17. is upon a promiſe confirmed before of God in Chriſt, foure hundred and thirty yeares before the Law; but this in *Geneſis* the 17. and the 7. was not given ſo long before, therefore to expound the one by the other; varieth from his mind.

Batt.

Batt. *I pray prove it, that this promiſe* Geneſis *the* 17. *Was not made foure hundred and thirtie yeares before the Law.*

Stal. I doe prove it then; The firſt promiſe made to *Abraham* foure hundred and thirtie yeares before the Law, was at his firſt calling; but this promiſe was foure and twentie yeares after.

Batt. *Conceive it ſo, yet prove that there was foure and twentie yeares difference between the firſt promiſe, and this in* Geneſis *the* 17.

Stal. I prove it thus; The firſt promiſe was given him when he was ſeventie and five yeares old; this when he was ninetie nine yeares old; now count, compare and conclude.

Batt. *You Argue; if there be difference in time the promiſe is not one; the Argument ariſeth from time, and not from the truth of the promiſe.*

Stal. If the Apoſtle will argue from time, why may not I?

Batt. *The Apoſtle doth not argue from time; lay down your Anſwer and I ſhall take it up.*

Stal. I am to argue, you are to anſwer; and I ſhall take off your anſwer.

Batt. *I Anſwer, the promiſe the Apoſtle ſpeaks of is not the ſame with* Geneſis *the* 12. *and the* 3. *but with this in* Geneſis *the* 17. *where he ſaith, (let all iudge of this) I will be a God, what? a God without Chriſt, I will be a God, without Chriſt Ieſus; this is admirable.*

Stal. You runne from the thing, have I not given you ſatisfaction that *Galatians* the 3. and the 16. muſt referre to *Geneſis* the 12. and the 3. In thy ſeed, &c.

Lambe. *The* 12. *of* Geneſis *doth not ſpeake of any ſeed, therefore it muſt have reference to the* 17. Chapter.

Stal. To take off that Anſwer, thus I reaſon; whatſoever is underſtood in the Text, is there, and muſt be made out from the ſenſe; In the 12. of *Geneſis* and the 3. Chriſt is underſtood; for when he ſaid in thee, it is not meant of *Abrahams* perſon, unleſſe you will lay the foundation of juſtification in *Abrahams* perſon.

Lamb. *If then the* 12. *of* Geneſis *ſpeaks of ſeed, how is it that the Apoſtle hath it, he ſaith not unto thy ſeeds, but unto thy ſeed,*

ſeed, foraſmuch as the Apoſtles expoſition is in termes, it muſt be meant of the 17. *of* Geneſis, *where mention is made of ſeed, and not of the* 12: *where there is no ſuch mention.*

Stal. If it be ſufficient, that in the 3. of the *Galatians* and the 8. the Apoſtle applyeth it to our juſtification by Chriſt, Chriſt is there implyed.

Lamb. *We have not a controverſie, whether it be ſo implyed; or not, but whether ſo expreſt.*

Stal. Shut your eyes and be blind; Is it not enough that I have proved, it is implyed, you muſt goe backe to my firſt ſubſtratum, and Argument laid; That that is deduced out of Scripture, is implyed in the Scripture, the ſenſe of thoſe words, In the 12. of *Geneſis* and the 3. is meant of Chriſt, not of *Abrahams* perſon, and you have an expoſition of it, without going to the 17. of *Geneſis* and the 7: the Apoſtles expoſition of Scripture is better then yours or mine, he ſaith, it is meant of his ſeed, the Lord Chriſt.

Lamb. *How doth that appeare?*

Stal. I will make it appeare by two Demonſtrations, (Beſides that evident paſſage, *Geneſis* the 22. and the 18. compared with *Acts* the 3. the 25, 26.) The firſt, is the 3. of the *Galatians* and the 8. the Scripture preacheth, that in thee ſhall all nations be bleſſed; the Apoſtle quoteth out thoſe words; from the 12. of *Geneſis* and the 3. where he ſaith, the Scripture preached Goſpel; if the Lord Chriſt be not meant; we muſt underſtand it, as if he had not preached Goſpel, but Law, and layed it on man, and not on Chriſt as the foundation; but the holy Ghoſt ſaith by *Paul*; the Scripture preacheth Goſpel;

Lamb. *I grant your Argument; but your Argument doth not expreſſe the word ſeed at all, ſhall we underſtand it, whether expreſt or no?*

Stal. Note, if this be not an evaſion, if not a contradiction, you fight againſt the light; But ſecondly, again you urge the word (he ſaith) we ſay ſence of Scripture is Scripture, that which is drawn out of Scripture in the true meaning, is the Scripture: though it doth not in expreſſe termes ſay it.

Lamb. *Prove it.*

Stal. I will give you an evident inſtance, in the 7. of *Iohn* the 38. He that beleeves on me as the Scripture hath ſaid, out of his belly ſhall flow rivers of water of life, the Scripture ſaith it; yet you doe not finde it punctually, in expreſſe termes, where the Scripture ſaith, he that beleeves out of his belly ſhall flow rivers of living water; and therefore in *Geneſis* the 12. and the 3. the Scripture ſaith it there, and ſaith it not; it ſaith it in ſence, and not in expreſſe words; that in *Abrahams* ſeed all nations, &c.

Batt. *What is your inference from that, and if the holy Ghoſt include it, and not expreſſe it; what is that?*

Stal. Inference, you muſt yeeld me what I have proved.

Batt. *You will give us leave to compare Scripture with Scripture.*

Stal. Compare what you will; but grant that I have proved, what you would have proved.

Batt. *Compare that place; In the* 17. *of* Geneſis *and the* 7. *that it argues to the* 3. *of the* Galatians; *I will eſtabliſh my covenant, with whom; God primarily doth eſtabliſh a covenant with his Sonne Ieſus Chriſt; did he eſtabliſh a covenant with us, or with Chriſt? the promiſe is to one, and therefore that is the covenant.*

Stal. The eſtabliſhing the covenant with others in Chriſt is one thing, and the eſtabliſhing the covenant primarily in Chriſt is another.

Batt. *The covenant may be ſaid to be made in Chriſt and with Chriſt; in Chriſt, as promiſes are made to the glory of the Father; and with Chriſt as he ſatisfies for all, if I eſtabliſh a covenant with me and thy ſeed, when the promiſe is made to ſeed, as to on, what is that, but of the covenant in Chriſt?*

Stal. It is ſo, the promiſe made to the ſeed as to one, is that covenant eſtabliſhed in Chriſt; As in *Gal.* 3. 16. which ſpeaks of the promiſe primarily eſtabliſhed in Chriſt, But that in the 17 of *Geneſis*, ſpeaks of the promiſe eſtabliſhed with *Abraham* and his ſeed or poſteritie, in a ſecondary way.

Batt. *Conceive it thus; Was there a covenant made with* Abraham *and his ſeed, in thee ſhall all nations, &c. where is that covenant made but with Chriſt, and in Chriſt?*

Stal.

Stal. This is that I ſay, that as God the Father tranſacts and carryeth on all the worke of our redemption in and by Chriſt. So ſecondarily, the thing we prove is, that the 17. of *Geneſis* holds out that covenant to beleevers, and their ſeed, and he covenants with them, that he will be their God for ever.

Batt. *Now you come to the ſecond point, where you ſpeake, the promiſe is made to us and to our ſeed; and pleaſe you where is the promiſe made to us and to our ſeed; bring an equalitie and that it be as the common covenant.*

Stal. I would we might come to the Argument.

Batt. *I would I could underſtand your Argument.*

Stal. I am ſtill proving, my Minor propoſition, that Infants are in the Goſpel covenant, and you confeſſe ſo much, nor doe you deny the covenant but to the carnall ſeed.

Batt. *I anſwer Infants are included in the Goſpel covenant, that is, Infants in the dayes of* Abraham *take them according to the fleſh, yet the ſeed of* Abraham *conſiſts in two parts carnall and ſpirituall; The one as carnall, and the other as ſpirituall, and now the ſpiritnall ſeed are onely included in that covenant.*

Stal. Doe you include the one and exclude the other?

Batt. *We doe Anſwer, one is the carnall ſeed, and the other is the ſpiritnall.*

Stal. I will prove the tender of the covenant made to *Abraham*, and his carnall ſeed according to the fleſh.

Batt. *This we will grant it; if you onely underſtand that the ſeed of* Abraham *according to the fleſh, onely them that are born according to the fleſh.*

Stal. I doe not ſay, but that *Abraham* hath a ſpirituall ſeed; but I deny that theſe words *Geneſis* the 17. and the 7. are meant onely of his ſpirituall ſeed, but meant alſo of the ſeed according to the fleſh, give me leave to prove what I ſhould prove.

Batt. *Prove it.*

Stal. That ſeed which goes along in the generations and lineall deſcent is the carnall ſeed; but this ſeed ſpoken of and that God makes the promiſe to, he will be a God to him and to his ſeed after him, goes along in the lineall deſcent in their

generations, therefore it is meant of the carnall ſeed; for it is not ſaid I am a God to thee and thy ſeed in ſpirituall regeneration; you may expound it ſo; but the words will not beare it; or that it is meant of Ieſus Chriſt, the ſpirituall ſeed, in whom the covenant was founded; But beſides that I have ſaid, it follows preſently in the plurall number, added to the ſingular, to thee and to thy ſeed after thee in (their) generations; it is not ſpoken of one, it doth not meane that in the 3. of the *Galatians* and the 16. which refers as before to *Geneſis* the 12. and the 3. that ſpeaks of one, but here are many in their generations ſpoken of.

Batt. *If the covenant be meant of* Abrahams *ſeed according to the fleſh, then it is meant ſo; but this Scripture hath reference to the ſpirituall ſeed.*

Stal. It is good for me I include the ſpirituall, and not exclude the carnall.

Batt. *Grant it to the carnall ſeed of* Abraham.

Stal. Why then did you, to ſtrengthen your expoſition of the ſpirituall ſeed bring the 3. of the *Galatians* and the 16. which onely is meant of the ſpirituall ſeed Ieſus Chriſt.

Batt. *We gave an anſwer before that the covenant is made in Chriſt, and that is an actuall covenant in Chriſt, and therefore it comes not from the loynes of* Abraham *to us; if the covenant be made to us in Chriſt and with Chriſt, and if the Father communicate it to us, it ariſes not from the loynes of* Abraham, *but from Chriſt to us.*

Stal. I doe not go about to prove, it ariſes from *Abraham* but what promiſe (firſt founded in Chriſt) God made to *Abraham* (as a beleeving parent) that God makes now to beleeving parents; but to *Abraham* he ſaid I will be a God, &c.

Batt. *Here is your Argument, if God make a covenant to* Abraham *and to his, then to other beleevers and to their ſeed, but God hath made a covenant to* Abraham *and his ſeed, therefore to other beleevers. I anſwer upon diſtinction thus; that he hath made a promiſe in Scripture, if* Abrahams *ſeed then heires of promiſe, but to ſay, that God made a promiſe to* Abraham *and his carnall ſeed, and then to my ſeed to give me the ſame bleſſing of Chriſt, becauſe they have the honour of circumciſion, there-*

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fore Infants are to be baptized, this I deny.

Stal. I come not yet to reason from Circumcision to Baptisme; I am at a punctuall Argument, and drive at that the Scripture drives at, *viz.* That the promise is made to *Abra*- upon no singular priviledge, but as a beleeve, and it is therefore made to other beleevers upon no singular priviledge, but as they are beleevers.

Batt. *I deny your Minor; that on the act of beleeving the promise is made to* Abraham.

Stal. As a beleever, I say it was made, not as having any other singular priviledge; the promise is made to him.

Batt. *Prove it.*

Stal. I prove it; That which was the occasion of renewing the covenant with *Abraham* is one reason of the covenant, but the occasion of his renewing the covenant in the 17. of *Genesis*; was as he was a beleever, who in *Chapter* the 16. (if you compare it) had not walked with a right foot but stept aside to *Hagar*, thinking the promise might be fulfilled that way, but God admonisheth him *Chapter* the 17. and the 1. that if he will walke uprightly, and manage his faith sincerely, not seeking for indirect means, to serve his providence, and to help on the accomplishment of the promise, his covenant was with him, & now he would renew it.

Batt, *Because God renewes his covenant in a declaration of faith, therefore doth God doe it for his faith?*

Stal. Not for faith, but that the promise which was made to *Abraham* on no singular priviledge but as a beleever, and so to other beleevers, as beleevers, that he might still be a stronger beleever and be establisht in his faith.

Batt. *It doth not follow, that I being a beleever, as a beleever have the same covenant made with me as* Abraham *had.*

Stal. What is made to a beleever, as a beleever agrees to the whole kinde of beleevers, but this promise was made to *Abraham* a beleever, as a beleever, therefore, &c.

Batt. *Here is your Argument, that which is made to one beleever, as a beleever is made to all the kinde of beleevers, as beleevers.*

Stal. I, what is made to *Abraham* is made to all beleevers

vers for the ſubſtance; indeed that he ſhall have not onely heaven; but heaven ſhall be typed out by Canaan, and the land of Canaan given by promiſe not by the Law, as the Apoſtle ſaith; And again, that he ſhall have the promiſe that Chriſt ſhall come in the fleſh, and of his loynes, theſe are circumſtances, but the ſubſtance of the promiſe belongs to him then, and to us now, that is Chriſt, the ſubſtance of the Goſpel covenant, is made over to *Abraham*; as a beleever, and ſo to every beleever.

Batt. *The ſubſtance it is true, I will be a God to thee and to thy ſeed; he is a God to* Abraham *and to his ſeed; therefore he gave them the land of Canaan, the Oracles, and the like.*

Stal. Is that the ſubſtance of the Covenant; I hope you are not ſo ignorant but you underſtand, I will be a God to thee, &c. to meane more then ſo. What is that? I will be more then Canaan, I will give thee Canaan, outward bleſſings, and circumſtantiall priviledges, and more; for it includes heaven, happineſſe, and all; if ever he ſpeakes of a whole covenant, I will be a God to them, In the 31. of *Jeremiah* and the 32. and the 33. he joyneth ſpirituall graces with this, I will be a God: and that it includes heaven, ſee *Hebrews* the 11. and the 16. Had I time to compare the places you would ſee it includes all, either temporall or ſpirituall bleſſings; he is no God to any but in Chriſt, and in a ſpeciall covenant of Grace: if he did offer himſelfe to any ſince *Adams* fall to be their God, it was in Chriſt, and in theſe words, I will be a God to thee and thy ſeed, here is the ſubſtance of the Goſpel Covenant; and what in the ſubſtance, is made to *Abraham* as a beleever, agreeth to us as beleevers; or, to all other beleevers whereſoever.

Batt. *I anſwer, If what ever agrees to* Abraham *as a beleever, that therefore his children ſhould be circumciſed.*

Stal. No, that is but the circumſtance or the old ſeale; I plead not for that, but for the ſubſtance of the promiſe, God to be our God, and the God of ours; and therefore the new ſeale to follow upon it.

Batt. *A God, what a God to* Abraham *and his ſeed as in common priviledge; God is a God in ſpirit, to us as We are uni-*

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ted to Chriſt, and cloathed with his righteouſneſſe; and this promiſe was made to Abraham, *as a beleever and to his ſpirituall ſeed, to them he ſaith, I will be their God.*

Stal. But it is ſaid further, as I will be thy God, ſo I will be their God; for the meaning whereof I pray compare the 8. verſe and the 7. together of the 17. of *Geneſis*; I will eſtabliſh my Covenant with me and thee, and I will give to thee and thy ſeed the land of Canaan, and I will be their God; their God, whoſe God? theirs, that ſhall inhabite Canaan: Now thus I Argue; that ſeed that the Lord ſpeakes of, in the 8. verſe, he ſpeaks of in the 7. verſe, he ſpeaks in the 8. verſe, of a carnall ſeed, of a ſeed that ſhall inherit Canaan, and he makes as full a promiſe to them as to any, in the 7. verſe, they that are borne of *Abraham* according to the fleſh; therefore they have the full ſubſtance of the Goſpel promiſe.

Batt. *Conceive it ſo, if the ſcope of the promiſe to* Abraham *and his ſeede be ſo, God is not onely the God of* Abrahams *ſeed, but of mine, as I am a beleever: That which we give for anſwer, is this, If we were children of* Abraham *according to the fleſh, and Iewes by nativitie, I ſhould grant your Queſtion, but being Gentiles we are not in this Covenant, or have no reference to this covenant.*

Stal. Then I argue from what your Anſwer implies; that not being made to *Abraham* as common to other beleevers, it is made to him by ſingular priviledge; but it is not made to him, by ſome ſingular priviledge.

Batt. *I anſwer, it is made to* Abraham *in the Way of ſome ſingular priviledge; for* Abrahams *ſeed were to be circumciſed; to* Abrahams *ſeed were given the Oracles of God, and to his ſeed the glory of the Church, & that Chriſt ſhould come of him.*

Stal. Theſe were circumſtantiall; I will be their God is more then all theſe, which ſubſtantiall promiſe was not made in way to any circumſtance; but the circumſtantiall priviledges depend upon, and were made for the ſubſtance ſake.

Batt. *You muſt come to theſe words, in the* 31. *of* Ieremiah *he ſpeakes there, he ſaith, This is the covenant they are in, abſolutely, after thoſe dayes, I will put my Law in their minds, and write it in their hearts, and I will be their God, and they ſhall be*

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my people; conceive the covenant thus; if you argue from the ſubſtance of the covenant.

Stal. From hence I will raiſe an Argument; look what promiſe or ſubſtantiall Goſpel covenant, God made with *Abraham* and his ſeed before the people went into Canaan; yea before they goe out of Egypt, he ſaith, he will make with others in times of the New Teſtament; but the covenant which *Jeremiah* the 31. and the 33. he ſaith, he will make in thoſe dayes is, that God will be their God, even of the leaſt or youngeſt of them, verſe the 34: Therefore God makes the ſame covenant now for ſubſtance with the youngeſt as the eldeſt that God will be their God, &c. As for other circumſtances of the covenant they are not laid downe till they come out of Egypt; then began the whole Nationall, and ſo Typicall Church; then began the publike ceremoniall adminiſtration; but here in *Jeremiah* the 31. dealing about the ſubſtance of the covenant as with beleevers in the New Teſtament, he makes the ſame covenant that he made before they went into Egypt, even when *Abraham* was to be the patterne to other beleevers; and when God ſaid, I will be a God to thee, and thy ſeed.

Batt. *I will be a God to thee and thy ſeed, but the word is here in* Ieremiah, *I will be their God, and they ſhall be my people; that is, he ſhall be God to people that are ſpiritually called, and he will put his Spirit in them.*

Stal. And to their children; the leaſt of the number among Gods people; he will give himſelfe, his Spirit and knowledge, &c.

Batt. *Being a God of his people, it ſeemes then his people is carnall or ſpirituall.*

Stal. He can and doth, make them that come of beleeving parents, of carnall, ſpirituall.

Batt. *You are not ignorant that though there be* eccleſia in potentia, *yet we are to argue of the Church in the act, and of thoſe that be actually in the covenant.*

Stal. I will goe along with you; the promiſe puts them actually in the covenant: I reaſon thus; they to whom the promiſe is given, have an actuall admiſſion into the covenant; but

but the promise is given to the children of beleeving parents, therefore there is an actuall admission of them, as confederates in the covenant, with their parents; If God passe his word for it, there is the act of his will, and the parent beleeving his word, there is the act of his faith, though as yet the child come not forth with his act.

Batt. *True, the declaring Gods mind makes it reall; the word of promise in Scripture is taken declarative when it comes to a soule to have the experience of Iesus Christ, and after grace received, and when in full we receive all in Christ, to the glory of God.*

Stal. Besides all this, the word of promise is made, before the worke of grace is begun; for God begins with us in the Gospel, and puts us and our children under the tender of the covenant, as the seale of the covenant. You say, that the promise is made to *Abraham* on some singular priviledge, which I grant, in respect of the circumstances; but the substance of the Gospel is the same to all beleevers in the Old and New Testament, as beleevers.

Batt. *As a beleever we argue to the point, but not because of the act of beleeving was the covenant made.*

Stal. We doe not lay it upon any previous merit, or worth in the faith of a beleeving parent, for himselfe or child; but upon the preventing free grace of God, who is pleased to accept them both in the covenant, when he admits the one, he admits the other.

Batt. *Why, but in beleeving we understand faith doth not go before the covenant, but faith follows the covenant; and I suppose you are not so ignorant, as to thinke that grace goes before the covenant.*

Stal. Sir, I am so ignorant, as to conceive that the covenant in the tender of it, goes before faith; the covenant affords the seed of faith the covenant, is the ministration of the spirit of faith; we cannot have faith but from the promise which breeds and begets faith.

Batt. *It is one thing to consider the promise in respect of oblation, I may preach the promise to thousands, and not confirme grace in Iesus Christ.*

Stal. But to ſpeake in other words, more proper, and plaine; an outward offer, and outward eſtabliſhment by a ſacrament there is, to beleevers children, as to themſelves, though not the inward eſtabliſhment by the ſpirit, preſently, nor ever it may be, to all thoſe children.

Batt. *If we ſpeake to beleevers and their ſeed, all the ſeed of beleevers is as we conſider* Abraham *according to the fleſh, or* Abraham *according to the ſpirit: if according to the fleſh, ſo the covenant is to him and his ſeed; and if according to the ſpirit, ſo the covenant is there; and the Goſpel allows of no other ſeed, but according to the ſpirit.*

Stal. Allows how? the Goſpel makes an offer and tender not onely in this, but in other places; it makes an offer of ſalvation to thoſe that are the ſeed of beleeving parents, who have not the worke of grace in them.

Batt. *So it doth to the whole World.*

Stal. Yea more then that, it makes the offer, as God gives over himſelfe in the ſeale of the covenant to the ſeed of beleeving parents, as to themſelves, which he doth not to all the world.

Batt. *I pray give Scripture for it; if God hath not done as much for them afarre off, as for them that are neare; whom the Lord our God ſhall call.*

Stal. I raiſe this argument to that I ſaid before; if the ſeale of the covenant be to *Abraham* and his ſeed, becauſe of the promiſe, then he that hath the promiſe muſt have the ſeale, &c.

Batt. *Draw out your Syllogiſme.*

Stal. I will put it as plaine as I can; the promiſe or the ſubſtance of the Goſpel covenant is the ground of the ſeale; but beleevers and their ſeed have the ſubſtance of the Goſpel covenant, therefore they muſt have the ſeale.

Batt. *It is denied that beleevers ſeed muſt therefore have the ſeale, becauſe of the promiſe; prove it.*

Stal. I prove it; what was a ground, why *Abrahams* ſeed, have the ſeale, is the ground why the ſeed of other beleevers, ſhould have the ſeale; but the promiſe was the ground of *Abrahams* ſeale, &c.

Batt.

Batt. *It is denied that the promise was the ground of* Abrahams *seale.*

Stal. In the 17. of *Genesis* and the 9. after God had made a promise to him and his seed; he tels him, Thou shalt keepe my covenant therefore: Wherefore? because he had made a promise or covenant to be his God, and the God of his seed.

Batt. *But wherefore shall his seed be circumcised without commission?*

Stal. If God make the covenant the ground of the command, of setting to the seale; therefore *Abraham* shall procure that seale to his children, which God appoints to him, and in that he hath made a promise to his children as to himselfe; therefore he must procure the seale: if the covenant were the cause or ground of it, they are then to have the seale set, by Gods command, whosoever we finde within the compasse of the covenant, &c.

Batt. *I say, there was a covenant made with* Abraham, *and he hath children and servants, but they cannot be circumcised till there is a commission given; and there may be a promise and a covenant, but without a commission no circumcising.*

Stal. Servants we deale not with who are of yeares; but the seed of beleeving parents, what is made to *Abraham* as a beleever, is made to the rest of beleevers, but the command of the seale is given upon the promise made to *Abraham*, and his seed; therefore all beleeving parents that have their children in the covenant, have a command to put to the seale and procure the seale for them: Or, I will prove it another way, if parents cannot manage their faith of the covenant without procuring the seale which God hath commanded, they must procure it, in faith of the promise, and in obedience to a command, but parents cannot else manage their faith of the covenant; therefore as they procured circumcision in the Old Testament, so baptisme in the New.

Batt. *To which we answer: It is managed according to the Gospel; if he himselfe receive the signe as* Abraham *received the signe or seale of circumcision.*

Stal. But *Abraham* receives a command for it, for his

children; and therefore all parents are bound to procure the ſeale for their children.

Batt. *I deſire to explaine my ſelfe; there was nothing put in execution without a command from the time of* Adam *unto* Abraham, *from the dayes of* Abraham *till Chriſt, from the dayes of Chriſt, till now; when there was no command, there was no circumciſion; and when there is a commiſſion* Iſhmael *is circumciſed; and then at that time, at thirteene yeares old; and thirteene yeares he remained uncircumciſed.*

Stal. But when the covenant is made with *Abraham*, and againe renewed for circumciſion, there is a command upon that ground: *Abraham* hath a command for circumciſion and muſt apply it becauſe of the promiſe; ſo if God hath given parents a promiſe in the New Teſtament for children; then they have a command for applying baptiſme to their children upon that promiſe; which is an everlaſting ground and reaſon of the command.

Batt. Abrahams *children have a command to be circumciſed, therefore they are circumciſed; and if parents have received a command for their children to be baptized, then they are to be baptized; prove it.*

Stal. They have a command for Baptiſme in the generall, and in the promiſe to them and their ſeed there is included a command, to apply the ſeale to all to whom the promiſe belongs. *Ergo.*

Batt. *If ſo be a command is included in the promiſe, then my child, ſay you, muſt be baptized as* Abrahams *was circumciſed?*

Stal. I, if ſo be the command is included in the promiſe wherein children are confederates, they are to be baptized; what hinders but the command is included, &c.

Batt. *If the command were annexed to the covenant and expreſſed in the covenant; as circumciſion which is not included, but ſpoken of; wherefore the concluſion followes from the premiſes if the command made were not onely included, but a commiſſion given, as for circumciſion.*

Stal. If there was a command given to the promiſe for circumciſion, it holds that the promiſe being given to beleevers

vers and to their ſeed, then ſuch parents are to procure the ſeale for them: I will give you an inſtance; if the promiſes be called commands, they carry a commanding power with them; or thus I will raiſe my Argument; If there be the power of a command in the promiſe (that it is included though not expreſſed) they are to improve that promiſe for the ſeale, but there is ſuch power in a promiſe (as I could ſhew *) that it carries a command in the bowels of it, therefore ſuch a command for the ſeale is implied, and drawn out from the promiſes.

* Nehem. 1. 8. Act. 13. 47.

Batt. *Doe you ſay the promiſe, or a promiſe.*

Stal. This or that promiſe; or the promiſe indefinitely.

Batt. *Of this or that promiſe, if we have a command with it we may doe things upon the promiſe, ſuch was circumciſion in the command of it.*

Stal. And ſuch is the promiſe to beleevers and their ſeed, that a command is implied in it; whence I draw my Argument, doe you anſwer to it: if there lieth a command in the bowels of a promiſe, it muſt be improved, and the parents muſt manage it for their children; but in this or that promiſe there is a command.

Batt. *What command can there be on this hand for that from a promiſe; when you ſpeake indefinitely of them.*

Stal. I ſhall not need further to prove a command if you grant a promiſe: The covenant of grace runs thus, in promiſes there are precepts; in precepts, promiſes underſtood or implied; though not expreſt: there is a mutuall and reciprocall reflection one upon another; if God promiſe a thing in one place, there is a precept in another; and if there be a precept in one place, there is a promiſe in another; this is the covenant of grace: if God give a promiſe to a beleever and his ſeed, you ſhall find a command for the adminiſtration of the ſign of the covenant.

Batt. *But expreſſe places of command there are for actuall beleevers; In* Matthew *the* 28. *and the* 16. *of* Marke.

* Though afterwards we wanted time, and could not urge the place for our purpoſe.

Stal. There are, we ſhall come to that afterwards, * but ſtill I urge (preſuppoſing that command in generall to beleeving Gentiles, *Matthew* the 28. and the 19.) that which be-

longs to *Abraham*, belongs to other beleevers, the promiſe I will be a God to thee and thy ſeed, and the promiſe as the ground of the command, comes ſo to him, therefore other beleevers have a command, to procure the ſeale of the promiſe, with the promiſe, or upon that ground.

Batt. *We have anſwered that the ſeed of* Abraham, *was underſtood according to the fleſh before; and ſo according to the ſpirit; and that in the Goſpel.*

Stal. The Goſpel is in that Text, In the 17. of *Geneſis* it is a Goſpel covenant.

Batt. *How farre, to no more then* Abraham *and his ſpirituall ſeed.*

Stal. I have proved it, it is meant of the carnall ſeed; and I will prove further, it is made to *Abraham* as a beleever, upon no other ſpeciall priviledge; It was made to *Iſaac* and to *Iacob*, as well as to *Abraham*; therefore not to *Abraham* by any ſpeciall priviledge.

Batt. *No not made to* Abraham *upon ſpeciall priviledge, the holy Ghoſt ſayes, it is made to* Abraham *in a ſpeciall priviledge; the promiſe was made to your father* Abraham.

Stal. Not to *Abraham* onely, but to *Iſaac* and *Iacob*, and if it be no more priviledge then what *Iſaac* or *Jacob* hath, it is no more priviledge, then what other beleevers have.

Batt. *True, other beleevers in the ſame line as* Iſaac *and* Iacob *in the fleſh, but now the lineall deſcent is broken; looke the 9. to the* Romanes.

Stal. The lineall deſcent is not broken.

Batt. *In the 9. to the* Romanes *and the 7. verſe; not becauſe they are the ſeed of* Abraham *are they all children, but in* Iſaac *ſhall thy ſeed be called.*

Stal There the holy Ghoſt ſpeaks not of externall adminiſtration; but of effectuall application.

Batt. *They that are the children of the fleſh, are not the ſons of God, but the children of the promiſe.*

Stal. The time will run away, we ſet two or three houres apart, for this exerciſe, and not above, and appointed a Sermon to be in the afternoone; and not to put that worke by; Let us goe to another Argument, whereby I ſhall prove the lineall deſcent is not broken.

Batt.

Batt. *Answer to the place.*

Stal. So I have, and shall take off your Answer from that place in the next Argument.

New. Wherefore did God command, that the children of *Abraham* should be circumcised? Here Master *Newton* put in.

Batt. *I Answer, God did command, that the children of Abraham should be circumcised, to distinguish them from other nations.*

New. That I grant, why else grant you, that God made a covenant to *Abraham* and his seed, and they were circumcised; were they not circumcised because it was a seale of the covenant.

Batt. *I doe not deny it, nor will not.*

New. You say, they are not circumcised, because the promise is made to him: It is Mr. *Lambs* Answer in his Book.

Batt. *I take your words, you say, that I should say they are not circumcised because of the promise of the covenant; therefore I say, if the commission and command make it a signe according to the promise, I deviate not hing.*

New. I aske you this Question, whether circumcision was the seale or signe of the covenant.

Batt. *It was the seale of the righteousnesse of faith.*

New. Whether is it the seale or signe of the covenant.

Batt. *It is the seale of the righteousnesse of faith, grant that.*

New. And I am glad you confesse, that it is the seale and signe of the covenant.

Batt. *Vnderstand me according to Scripture, though the holy Ghost say, that* Abraham *received the sign of circumcision that he might be the father of all beleeving.*

New. Grant this and I have done, was it as for distinction so as the signe and seale of the covenant, you did grant it.

Batt. *Propound your Syllogisme.*

New. I will first aske you this Question, God made a promise to *Abraham* and his seed; was it not a covenant of grace and salvation?

Batt. *I Answer you to his seed.*

New. And was it not to his Infants?

Batt. *According to the flesh, and also to the spirit.*

New. Stay Sir; you grant it as a covenant of grace and salvation.

Batt.

Batt. *According to the fleſh, or according to the ſpirit.*

New. I care not for that, whether to the fleſh or no, if a covenant of grace and ſalvation, to Infants; I am the God of them and their ſeed, then God gives grace to Infants, then his Infants might have faith, and many died before, as after circumciſion the promiſe is not voyd, if they are not circumciſed then God gives a promiſe of grace to Infants, though they have not actuall faith.

Batt. *I anſwer, if God make a covenant of grace and ſalvation to Infants, then he gives grace and ſalvation to them, we ſhall anſwer what you confirmed before, when you underſtand that the infants or children according to the fleſh or ſpirit, grace and ſalvation, is made to them and their ſeed, lineally deſcended from* Abraham.

New. Then God made a covenant to *Abraham* and his ſeed, to give them grace and ſalvation, I will bring you to that that you would have your ſelfe.

Batt. *Speake no untruths in a publique place.*

New. God gives grace to *Abrahams* Infants and they were circumciſed.

Batt. *Conceive me ſo, if ſo that God give grace and ſalvation to the ſeed of actuall beleevers.*

New. If God gives grace and ſalvation to *Abrahams* Infants and to others alſo, then they may be baptized as the other are circumciſed, if God give the thing ſignified they may have the ſigne and ſeale.

Batt. *That promiſe is made to* Abraham *and his ſeed.*

New. My Syllogiſme is, if, God gives the thing ſignified, then they are to be baptized, but God gives the thing ſignified, and therefore, &c.

Batt. *True, and I confeſſe if we conſider no difference in the ſtate of the Church before the Law and now, then your Argument would hold, but now the children of* Abraham *according to the fleſh, they muſt have faith actually, before they be admitted to Baptiſme.*

New. You make a difference in the ſtate of the Law and the Goſpel; will you not grant thoſe children in the ſtate of the Goſpel to have grace; and as they were circumciſed in *Abrahams* dayes, ſhall not children be baptized in the dayes of the Goſpel?

Batt.

Batt. *We say, as the administration of the Old Testament is abolished in other things, so it is to infants; that it holds not now to us Gentiles, as before.*

Stal. I will take off the answer; I will prove it to hold in proportion with the Gentiles children, as the Iews: And so I passe to another Argument, to prove our children under a promise of grace and salvation, as they come from us by lineall descent.

Batt. *The administration in the Law and the Gospel will not hold in this particular.*

Stal. I will prove it doth hold; the truth of God confirmed by Christ was, that the promises made to the Fathers, the Gentiles should glorifie God for, as having a share therein, but one ranke of the promises, is that we have spoken of, that God did take their children into covenant, and give them the signe and the thing signified; and therefore God is as much, and will doe as much, for our children, as for the children of the Iewes; that we Gentiles might glorifie God for his mercy.

Batt. *Prove it.*

Stal. In the 15. of the *Romanes* and the 9. Iesus Christ is the Minister of the circumcision for the truth of God to confirme the promises made unto the fathers, that the Gentiles might glorifie God for his mercy.

Batt. *What is your inference from this place?*

Stal. I lay my Argument thus; It is a truth of God confirmed by Christ that the promises made unto the Fathers the Gentiles should glorifie God for, (as having a share therein, else they could not glorifie God for it) but one ranke of these promises is, that God is and doth as much for the seed of beleevers, as for a beleever; for if he saith, he will be a God to the seed of them, it is as much as if he did it; and Christ comes to confirme it, that we Gentiles should glorifie God for it.

Batt. *Good: it is, because he saith, that Christ is the Minister of circumcision; therefore the Gentiles should glorifie God for it.*

Stal. And for the promise made to the Fathers, therefore the Gentiles shall glorifie God; and how was he a Minister of circumcision? circumcision is not there put for the act of circumcision, but for circumcised persons, the Iewes to whom Christ preached.

Batt. *In as much as no creature could satisfie the righteousnesse of God, Christ was bound over to answer what circumcision bound us to, and having answered what circumcision required, he was the*

Minister of circumcision; for this cause, we glorifie God.

Stal. He was Minister of the circumcision, that is, of the circumcised Iewes: Sir, you must not cloud the Scripture with multitude of words, and darken counsell without knowledge, the Scripture hath this scope, that Christ receives the Gentiles as the Iewes; he proves both branches: In the 8. verse, Receive one another as Christ received us; Iewes and Gentiles. First, as a Minister of the Iewes, and that in respect of the promise made to the fathers: And as a Minister for the Gentiles, that they might glorifie God for his mercy, in the confirmation of his promise made to the Fathers, it being a benefit common to the Gentile as the Iew, to have a share in such old promises.

Batt. *We know it thus far, that he fulfils the promises to the fathers.*

Stal. There must be a *medium* to the *finis*; a meanes to the end: The end is Gods glory among the Gentiles; the meanes, is the promise confirmed to Iew and Gentile; as in the 3. of the *Ephesians* and the 6. We Gentiles are partakers of this promise, in Christ by the Gospel; and we having a share in it doe glorifie God for the same mercy.

Batt. *We will conceive it true (as I said before) the promises are offered in Iesus Christ.*

Stal. The promise that God will be a God to beleevers and to their seed, it is set on the heads or Fathers of the Families; they shall have a promise for their children, else they cannot glorifie God for the same mercy; as the Iewes.

Batt. *Your Argument hath a glosse; it will not hold; If the promise of Iesus Christ, and the promise by the Gospel, if to one seed in the Law, it will hold, and because it is tied up it will not hold.*

Stal. My Argument holds, because it is not tied up; for thus I reason against the Answer; that which eclipseth the glory of Gods mercy, and the joy of beleeving parents, that doctrine is not to be endured, but the doctrine of the denial of a promise, and so the seale of it, baptisme, to Infants, eclipseth the glory of Gods mercy, and denies comfort to beleeving parents; therefore it is a doctrine not to be endured. Batt. *It is denied.*

Stal. Doth the shutting out all Infants advance free mercy, or the taking in of some?

Batt. *I Answer; the promise is preached to all mankind, and if free grace be to all, we exclude no Infant more then other.*

Stal. You cannot include children under mercy, unlesse they

be

be under a promise of mercy; Infants, say you, are excluded from the promise of mercy.

Batt. *Did I say so? lay you the confirmation.*

Stal. Christ confirming the promise of mercy to the Fathers among the Iews, he confirmes the promise made to the Fathers among the Gentiles.

Batt. *I, that is in Iesus Christ, who is the Minister of circumcision; we doe denie to preach the grace of God to Infants, till they are capable of understanding.*

Stal. Will you exclude them from mercy till they are capable of understanding?

Batt. *There is* ecclesia potentialis, *the potentiall Church.*

Newt. They were potentially holy, but not actually; so are the children of Turkes potentially holy. God can make them holy: Give me leave to speake one word more; where the thing signified is, it may be applied in the time of the Law and Gospel; I proved to you that God made a promise to *Abraham* of grace and salvation; therefore whosoever hath grace and salvation, I suppose the seale of grace may be applied to them.

Batt. *We answer in distinction tems; It is one thing to consider grace as it stands in a promise: and another thing to consider it in the efficacie; the royall robes of righteousnesse be in Christ and there is enough to cloath all the Saints; and as to you is given grace, according to the Text.*

New. I say, Infants have grace; God gives grace to Infants, and then if they have grace, why shall not the seale be applied; where the thing signified is the sign may be applied; but the thing signified is in Infants, then the signe may be applied.

Batt. *Will you understand all Infants in generall, or some in particular; there is a fallacie in your Argument.*

New. I goe to *Abrahams* children, I aske this question; the promise of salvation and grace is to *Abrahams* children, have they not grace, how come they to glory, and to heaven? many died before circumcision and they goe to heaven, how come they there?

Batt. *If they have grace, have all Infants grace, or some Infants; which Infants have grace; have all Infants grace?*

New. I say not so.

Batt. *How some?* *New.* Yes.

Batt. *Which by they?*

New. Had not *Abrahams* children grace; *Isaac* had grace, and *Iacob*

Iacob had grace; did not God say of *Iacob*, I have loved him before he was borne.

Batt. *Here is your Argument*; Iacob *had grace, therefore all had grace.*

New. You bad me prove but one; and I professe to you, there is one stands by you that in my presence denied that *Iacob* was elected: you bad me prove that any had grace; some you see had.

Batt. Iacob *had grace, and therefore is he circumcised; but must other Infants therefore be baptized?*

Stal. If once you deny a conclusion of truth, it is time to come to a conclusion; if Infants have the mercy of the promise, and the promise of mercy; grace, and the promise of grace; then Infants may have baptisme: but grace, and the promise of grace is given to Infants: you grant both propositions, and yet deny the conclusion.

Batt. *Prove then to whom grace is given actually and really.*

Stal. We may prove it, that Infants have reall grace, and are in a Gospel state, in a state of grace and glory.

Batt. *Prove this, and I will come to you againe when you speake that Infants have grace; they must have the grace of regeneration or absolute union; if they have that of union or regeneration, then all is one.*

Stal. I will give you a Syllogisme to prove it; if Christ doth undoubtedly say, they are partakers of the state of grace and glory, then is baptisme to be administred to Infants; but Christ undoubtedly saith, they are partakers of grace and glory.

Batt. *Doe you say, that Christ speakes of all, or of some particular Infants?*

Stal. He speakes indefinitely of Infants; In the 10. of *Marke* and the 14. verse, Of such is the Kingdome of God: In the Context our Saviour doth by speciall demonstrations testifie his approbation of children, in rebuking those that kept them from him; and in giving a command to suffer them to be brought; yea he makes a promise to them, and confirmes an actuall blessing upon them; and makes a profession of these and such as they are, of little children is the Kingdome of God: By which I understand a Church state, a Gospel state, a state of grace, and a state of glory: *Matthew* hath it, the Kingdome of heaven; and in the next verse by, the Kingdome of God; (the same words as here) our Saviour meaneth the state of grace, and state of glory. Not the

Church

Church of the Iewes onely; as was anſwered me the other day; but the Church of the New Teſtament; a Church ſtate, or a Goſpel ſtate; a ſtate of grace here, and of glory hereafter: And as here it is little children, *Luke* hath it infants; of theſe is the kingdome of heaven; it conſiſts of theſe as well as of others: *Ergo*, the outward adminiſtration of the ſeale of grace is not to be denied them. Take up my Argument thus: They that are in a Goſpel ſtate, a ſtate of grace here, and hereafter of glory, are not to be excluded from the ſeale of their admiſſion into that ſtate; but Infants, &c. *Mat. 19. Luk. 18. 15.*

Batt. *Your Argument is this; If they are comprehended in a Goſpel ſtate they are not to be excluded from the ſeale of their admiſſion to that ſtate; were it not that the holy Ghoſt takes me off; in the* 3. *of* Iohn *and the* 5. *Verily, verily, I ſay unto thee, except a man be borne of water and of the holy Ghoſt, a man cannot enter into the kingdome of God; wherefore comparing that Scripture with others, none can enter into the Kingdome, but they that are regenerate.*

Stal. Chriſt ſaith, of ſuch in ſaying, they are of his Kingdome that they are ſanctified, and ſuch are regenerated, and ſuch are ſaved, even little children; and if Chriſt declare his approbation of them, before they declare theirs of him; we are to give them the ſigne.

Batt. *Becauſe ſome of the ſonnes of men are baptized, therefore ſome are ſaved before they declare ſalvation.*

Stal. I, before they declare ſalvation.

Batt. *There is an open act of faith to be made in believing; now you grant they have faith, which I doe not grant.*

Stal. I do not ſay they have faith; but they are of the Kingdome of God.

Batt. *Did ever Chriſt declare his approbation of all Infants?*

Stal. Did Chriſt ever pronounce that of all men was the Kingdome of God; he never ſaid unto all men, of them is my Kingdome, but of men, and ſo much he ſaith of Infants, of ſuch is my Kingdome.

Batt. *Is it meant of the Kingdome of grace, or glory?*

Stal. Of ſuch is the Kingdome of God, that is, to imply, they may be ſubjects of that Kingdome, whether grace or glory, or both.

Batt. *All Infants?*

Stal. No, ſome infants.

Batt. *Can you ſay ſuch a child individuall hath grace?*

Stal. Can you ſay ſuch an individuall child hath not grace?

Batt. *We will leave it till ſuch time as it makes out it hath union with Chriſt, and communion with his Church.*

Stal. Chriſt leaveth it not ſo; but ſaith, Of ſome is the Kingdome of God; there are ſome belonging to his Kingdome, even while they are in the ſtate of infancie.

Batt. *It is not poſſible to give it, which be thoſe.*

Stal. Will you grant any Infants to be baptized, if I give you a demonſtration, what Infants are within the promiſe, and which are not.

Batt. *What the Text makes out we grant you, elſe not, if you can make it out by the word of truth and Apoſtolicall example.*

Stal. The word layes forth ſuch children, as are to be baptized.

Batt. *Note them out.*

Stal. Thoſe children who in the time of the New Teſtament are diſtinguiſhed from other children, by a diſtinct promiſe made unto them, and not to other children; are the children to be baptized (for having the promiſe, they muſt have the ſeale) but there is a diſtinct promiſe to them whoſe parents have a promiſe.

Batt. *Prove it.*

Stal. In the 2. of the *Acts* and the 39. the promiſe is to you and to your children.

Batt. *You cut the Scripture a clauſe or two too ſhort, is it to you and none elſe? and is it not to all that are neere and afarre off?*

Stal. Why the promiſe is to you that can here actually repent, to you the promiſe is made, and to your children; (indefinitely) ſo they be your children; not the children of all men, but to you that beleeve and repent, to you the promiſe is made, and to *your* children, and to them afarre off, that the Lord our God ſhall; to them and to *their* children.

Lamb. *There is a miſtake in the interpretation of Scripture.*

New. It is out of your own ſenſe.

Lamb. *This ſame was no more but a Sermon made to the Iewes, though it was ſo that the promiſe was made to them and their ſeed, and then they to whom the promiſe is made did believe, the Text ſaies, they received the word gladly and there was added three thouſand to the Church.*

Stal. Of whom there is a diſtinction made by the promiſe, they are to have the ſeale, but there is a diſtinction made by the promiſe betweene

between the children of beleevers and others (for they have the promiſe, who-ever wants it) therefore they are to have the ſeale.

Lamb. *You argue thus, the children of* Abraham *and of the beleeving Iewes are the children of the promiſe; and unleſſe the children of them, they have not the promiſe.*

Stal. This promiſe, was granted to the Iewes and their children in the time of the New Teſtament; if the parents accept of the Goſpel, and repent and be baptized for the remiſſion of their ſinnes, the promiſe is to them and to their children; Whence I argue that which is a ſtrong motive to bring the parents among the Iews to beleeve and repent muſt not be denyed; Now the promiſe to their children with themſelves, is a ſtrong motive to bring in a Iew, leave out his children he will not come in himſelf. And the Apoſtle, as if he knew where the ſhooe pinched them (leave out us, if you leave out our poſteritie) therefore he urgeth them by this extenſive motive, the promiſe is to you, and to your poſteritie alſo.

Lamb. *And if there was an oblation (or offer) and not a confirmation of what effect is it?*

Stal. I underſtand it thus; to you of yeares if you beleeve; and repent, the promiſe is to you, and to your children.

Lamb. *It is a confirmation to the parents beleeving and repenting.*

Stal. That, to be ſure, the promiſe ſhould be to them performing this condition; and over and above to their children.

Lamb. *But then it is meant of children of yeares, who ſhould actually beleeve and repent.*

New. Doe you underſtand it onely of actuall repenting and beleeving.

Lamb. *None that comes but muſt repent and beleeve and be baptized, and they muſt not elſe.*

Stal. Was this a motive to the Iew; it was no more then if he ſhould ſay, doe you repent that are Iews, the promiſe is to you; and if the Gentiles repent they ſhall have the promiſe, and when your children come to yeares, they ſhall have the promiſe, what motive is this?

Lamb. *Yet a great motive free grace to all, a motive to all, as for their children, grace was no more tendred to them then to all the world.*

Stal. That which is an inducement to parents to beleeve before they beleeve, and that which is a ſupportation to faith when they

they beleeve muſt not be laid aſide, but the promiſe to their children, is made an inducement before they beleeve, and a ſupportment when they beleeve, therefore we muſt not lay it aſide; by ſhutting our children out in their infancy.

Lamb. *If they come in after; the promiſe is theirs.*

Stal. But if you take them not in while children, it is no ſuch inducement; for the parent to come in.

Lamb. *To them neere, and afarre off; there is no participation of the covenant, but by faith and repentance.*

New. No participation, but by actuall faith and repentance, muſt all have that?

Lamb. *No potentiall faith is a rule or ground for a Miniſter, to adminiſter Baptiſme upon.*

New. I aske if there muſt be no Baptiſme, but they muſt have faith and repentance, and that there is no grace if they have not the act of faith and repentance?

Lamb. *I ſay the command repent, and be baptized, is no ground for a Miniſter to adminiſter Baptiſme unleſſe they underſtand and repent.*

New. Have not children grace, wherefore elſe were they circumciſed?

Lamb. *I Anſwer the reaſon why they were circumciſed, is not becauſe the parents are bound to beleeve, or becauſe they have faith in them, but becauſe the covenant is made to them and the ſeed, Typically promiſing Ieſus Chriſt: When Chriſt was come, the Type ceaſed.*

New. Did he not make a promiſe, and a covenant to children that they ſhould have grace, if they have the covenant, and how do they come to heaven elſe, what had they grace afterwards?

Lamb. *I Anſwer, in the ſame conſideration they were of* Abraham, *we might conclude their ſalvation.*

New. Then you will not conclude, that any are ſaved in the covenant of grace; but by faith in Ieſus Chriſt actually had.

Lam. *Not any that I know of.*

Stal. It is time I come to another Argument which is this; That doctrine which doth leave children in a hopeleſſe eſtate, and beleeving parents in a doubtfull and a deſpairing condition, about their children, is a doctrine not to be endured; your doctrin makes them and their children hopeleſſe (for as in the 2. of the *Epheſians* and the 12. without the promiſe, having no hope) therefore your doctrine is not to be endured.

Lamb.

Lamb. *After my children are alienated and ſtrangers without God, what elſe is their eſtate, is ſecret, but we will leave that to divine mercy.*

Stal. But revealed things are to us and to our children; a promiſe is revealed; without the promiſe, no grounded hope of mercy.

Lamb. *There is no promiſe to this more then that; but as* Acts the 2. *the* 39. *to them that the Lord our God ſhall call;*

Stal. ὅσους ἂν, *Whoſoever* the Lord our God ſhall call, hath relation to the latter clauſe; all that are afarre off; in anſwer to what might be objected; what ſhall become of them afarre off; to them, and to their children the promiſe is, as to you and yours; and if the promiſe be to them afarre off, that beleeve, then the promiſe will hold to the children of them afarre off; as it being to them that are neere, or were then and there preſent, it was to their children.

Lamb. *Whoſoever brings forth a doctrine to enlarge the hope of people beyond Scripture, flatters the people, whoſoever bringeth in a naturall ſeed, to cauſe parents to beleeve that their children are ſaved, doe but flatter them.*

Stal. We are farre from this flattery; if we pleaded the fleſh without a promiſe; or did we onely plead acts and works as you doe, we were as *Iſmael*, yea Antichriſtian; but if we plead the promiſe, from the time of our firſt birth; we are as *Iſaac*, that came of *Abraham* according to promiſe; As in the 4. of the *Galatians* and the 28. we brethren are as *Iſaac*; take *Iſaac* as an Infant or one of yeares; we are under the promiſe, when Infants of beleeving parents; and if beleevers of yeares, we have the promiſe (as he had) for our ſelves, and our children.

Batt. *The Apoſtle alleadges* Iſaac *that he comes as born by promiſe, and therefore of the promiſe, but God made not a promiſe that we ſhould be born as* Iſaac.

Stal. Although God did not make a promiſe that we be born as *Iſaac*; yet we have a promiſe from the firſt birth going with us, as *Iſaac* had.

Batt. *I deny that they have more then thoſe that come of unbeleeving parents.*

Stal. At the firſt birth we have it by coming of beleeving parents.

Batt. *And at the firſt birth we have no more then children that are not called, or then thoſe that are not born of God.*

Grey. Whether have your children no more priviledge under the Goſpel, then have the children of heathens?

Batt. *We do not admit them to Goſpel priviledges, as children.*

Grey. What promiſe is that ſpoken of in the *Acts*, where it is ſaid by the holy Ghoſt, The promiſe is to you, and to your children.

Batt. *We underſtand by it the word of ſalvation offered to all.*

Grey. I pray anſwer to my Argument, from that Text, that promiſe which is to you, is alſo to your children, that is, my Major, but this promiſe here ſpoken of, is to you, to all that are afarre off, whom the Lord ſhall call, that is, my Minor; therefore this promiſe (to you as to your children) is alſo to the children of all ſuch as the Lord our God ſhall call.

Lamb. *This promiſe is to as many as the Lord our God ſhall call.*

Grey. Deny one of the Arguments.

Batt. *I Anſwer by diſtinction; 'tis one thing to have the promiſe of the ſpirit, the promiſe of union, according to election, another to have that viſibly revealed by offer of grace and participation of priviledge; I grant the former, they have the promiſe of union.*

Grey. In granting this, you have granted what before you denied, and have yeelded as much as we deſire; you grant the promiſe to be with them, the ſpirit to be in them: you grant them union (a fruit of vocation) you muſt not, cannot deny them communion with Chriſt by his Spirit. This is ſufficient for us in granting the greater; the thing ſignified, you of neceſſitie muſt yeeld the leſſe, the ſigne; you have yeelded the covenant, you muſt yeeld the ſeal, and in granting this, you have granted all; and let all here preſent be our judges.

Batt. *But we have granted nothing.*

Stal. Let me proceed to another Argument; It is of divine authoritie and according to Chriſts will, that all thoſe which are of his Church ſhould have the waſhing of water; but Infants are members of the Church, therefore by divine authoritie, Infants ſhould have the waſhing of water.

Batt. *We deny the Minor; Infants as Infants, are no members of Chriſts body the Church.*

Stal. No members of Chriſt, no benefit by Chriſt, no ſalvation; no death of Chriſt for them, no love of Chriſt to them, but this is an Antichriſtian, rather then a Chriſtian doctrine. The Minor is proved,

proved, from *Ephesians* the 5. and the 26. Christ saveth, loveth, dieth for his Church and for none else; either therefore Infants are of his Church, or Christ died for none, loved none, saveth none.

Batt. *We answer upon distinction; you draw this inference and say, that they that are no members of Christ, have no part of Christ: it is one thing to consider them as members according to election, and another as in the visible Church according to the revelation of the Gospel; While I am a child, I am counted to be a child of wrath, according to the flesh, under the Law; and now if it be the pleasure of the Father to call me; I am a member of Christ.*

Stal. What if you live not (as thousands of Infants doe not, but die in their infancie) till that time of your calling?

Batt. *I answer, election and divine grace hath reference to the state of life or death; in the state of death we leave it to the Father.*

Stal. You trench upon an Arminian point; that none are infallibly elected till death; if children die in their infancie they may be elected and goe to heaven; not else.

Batt. *No Sir, I say before their membership is made manifest to the creature; the Sunne shines not, yet we know, there is power in the Sunne to shine; it is one thing to conceive a thing in God, and another as communicated to the creature; if he saves any as infants, he washeth them, and gives them an inward washing.*

Stal. But he hath an outward washing for all that have the inward; In the 5. of the *Ephesians* and the 26. he sanctifies and cleanses them with the washing of water by the word; that washing of water is baptismall washing.

Batt. *He sayes, that he gave his body for them, he shed his bloud and laid down his life, that he might apply the vertue and death of his bloud shed to sanctifie his Church.*

Stal. I, to Infants as others; doth this differ from my sense?

Batt. *I grant membership according to union; but the Scripture speakes not of any membership there.*

Stal. No, doth it not; if Christ ownes them as members of his Church mysticall, they are to be received into the Church visible.

Batt. *Are there any meanes to know it?*

Stal. We have given you means.

Batt. *Things that are conceived in the power of God to be, are they really such?*

Stal. Yes, really, if Christ loveth any, and saveth any, they are

Grey. Whether have your children no more priviledge under the Goſpel, then have the children of heathens?

Batt. *We do not admit them to Goſpel priviledges, as children.*

Grey. What promiſe is that ſpoken of in the *Acts*, where it is ſaid by the holy Ghoſt, The promiſe is to you, and to your children.

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proved, from *Epheſians* the 5. and the 26. Chriſt ſaveth, loveth, dieth for his Church and for none elſe; either therefore Infants are of his Church, or Chriſt died for none, loved none, ſaveth none.

Batt. *We anſwer upon diſtinction; you draw this inference and ſay, that they that are no members of Chriſt, have no part of Chriſt: it is one thing to conſider them as members according to election, and another as in the viſible Church according to the revelation of the Goſpel; While I am a child, I am counted to be a child of wrath, according to the fleſh, under the Law; and now if it be the pleaſure of the Father to call me; I am a member of Chriſt.*

Stal. What if you live not (as thouſands of Infants doe not, but die in their infancie) till that time of your calling?

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Stal. But he hath an outward waſhing for all that have the inward; In the 5. of the *Epheſians* and the 26. he ſanctifies and cleanſes them with the waſhing of water by the word; that waſhing of water is baptiſmall waſhing.

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Stal. We have given you means.

Batt. *Things that are conceived in the power of God to be, are they really ſuch?*

Stal. Yes, really, if Chriſt loveth any, and ſaveth any, they are

united unto himſelfe, and his body, they are joyned with him, and have the effect of his grace inwardly.

Batt. *I grant you this poſition; there is an unſeparable coniunction of them that God calls to grace and glory; the thing we ſpeake of is; that he might preſent his Church glorious; ſhe is glorious, as ſhe lies in power to be glorious, or really glorious, as we come to have faith in the righteouſneſſe of God we are really ſuch.*

Stal. The time is ſpent that was allotted for the Diſpute; as for the determination of every ones judgement what hath beene clearly drawne from Scripture, let them that have heard, judge of it, and conſult with God, and the Scripture, and ſee how God ſhall determine their hearts: we hope this dayes worke may do ſome good, to ſatisfie weake ſpirits, who are ready to be turned about with every winde of doctrine; what you ſee true in their Anſwers, make uſe of; for my part I ſee nothing to beat me off, from concluding, that I and my children are in the ſame Covenant, nor any thing that ſhould hinder us from baptizing our Infants.

Batt. *Let me have libertie to ſpeake and make an Apologie.*

Stal. No, Apologies will ſpoile your cauſe; you may have libertie to withdraw.

And as they were withdrawing, ſome of the Miniſters deſired to know of the people, whether they had received ſatisfaction, and did conclude with us, that Infants were to be baptized; whereto they gave their generall atteſtation by a ſhout with, Yes, yes.

Stal. Ye doe often ſing the 117. *Pſalme*, few conſider, it may be, how the Apoſtle quotes it, *Romanes* the 15. and the 11. in reference to, and for proofe, of the great myſterie of the Goſpel, which in as great a latitude is held out to us Gentiles, as to the Iewes, that in what Chriſt promiſeth and doth, to beleeving parents, and their children, we ſhould glorifie God for that his mercy. Let us now ſing that *Pſalme*. After which Mr. *Grey* went to Prayer and Sermon, wherein from this Text, *Iude* verſe the 3. he did ſeaſonably, and pertinently preſſe that exhortation, That we ſhould earneſtly contend for the faith which was once given to the Saints.

FINIS.

THREE ORDINANCES OF THE LORDS and COMMONS Assembled in PARLIAMENT.

The first, for regulating the Excize upon Strong Waters, and the Spirits whereof they are distilled and made.

The second, Being an Explanation of a former Ordinance, containing Rules and Instructions to be observed by the Commissioners and Auditors, for the bringing in of their Accompts upon the Excize, to continue for one whole yeare longer.

The Third, that such Souldiers as shall take Pay in the Parliaments Service, and quit that Army wherein they were first entertained, and take pay in another Army, shall be punished by death: And that the Officers that shall entertain such Souldiers, shall be tried by the Court Martiall.

Die Sabbathi, 5. Octob. 1644.

ORdered by the Lords assembled in Parliament, that these Ordinances shall be forthwith printed and published.

Joh. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

London, Printed for *John Wright*, in the Old-Baily. Octob. 7. 1644.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Die Veneris 27. Septemb. 1644.

WHereas by Ordinance of Parliament, dated the eleventh of September, *Anno* 1643. there is eight pence upon every gallon laid by way of Excize upon all Strong Waters, and *Aqua Vitæ* imported, or to be imported, or made, or distilled, within the Realme of England, Dominon of Wales, or towne of Berwick, to be paid by the first Buyer, or Maker, or Distiller respectively, which summe of eight pence upon the gallon being raised upon the Strong Waters, and *Aqua Vitæ*, made within the Kingdome, is found to have something intermitted Trade in that Commodity within the Kingdome; And forasmuch as by the said Ordinance of the eleventh of September, 1643. there was no Provision made for the leavying of Excize upon all Spirits imported, whereby the true intent of the said Ordinance might be avoyded: Be it Ordained by the Lords and Commons in Parliament Assembled, and by Authority of the same, for the incouragement of the Maker, and Distiller of Strong Waters, and for the better receipt of the Excize upon this Commoditie, That all *Aqua Vitæ*, or Strong Waters made in the Kingdome of Eng-

land, Dominion of Wales, or Towne and Port of Barwick, doe pay two pence upon every gallon by way of Excize, and ſo after that Rate for a greater or leſſer quantity to be paid by the firſt Maker thereof.

That all Spirits made of French or Spaniſh Wines, commonly called Brand-Wine, imported, doe pay two pence upon every gallon Excize, and ſo after that Rate, for a greater or leſſer quantity, to be paid by the firſt Buyer from the ſaid Importer.

That all Strong Waters perfectly made whatſoever, imported from beyond the Seas, ſhall pay eight pence upon every gallon Excize, to be paid by the firſt Buyer from the ſaid importer.

That for ſuch forraigne Spirits, as aforeſaid, as any Diſtiller ſhall uſe and make into perfect Strong Waters, That ſuch Maker, or Diſtiller, ſhall pay onely one penny upon every gallon more, it firſt appearing unto the Commiſſioners of Excize, or their Deputies, in the ſeverall Offices reſpectively, by ſufficient teſtimony, that the two pence aforeſaid was duly paid at the firſt Sale thereof as Spirits.

That for all *Aqua Vitæ*, or Strong Waters made in the Kingdome, which ſhalbe againe exported for any Parts beyond the Seas, or out of the Realme of England, &c. whether into Plantations, or other whatſoever, having firſt paid the ſeverall Excizes before mentioned, the Commiſſioners of Excize for the time being, or their Deputies, unto whom the ſeverall Excizes have beene paid, as aforeſaid, being ſufficiently ſatisfied therein, as aforeſaid, ſhall and may allow and repay the ſeverall Excizes aforeſaid, except onely the one penny laid upon Forraigne Spirits, made here into perfect Strong Water: provided alwayes, that all Spirits, both Forraigne and Domeſtick, that ſhall fraudulently

dulently be ſold by any perſon or Perſons, to Chapmen, or others, to retaile in kinde, inſtead of *Aqua Vitæ*, or Strong Waters, before the ſame be re-diſtilled, and made into perfect *Aqua Vitæ*, or Strong Waters, ſhall pay for every Gallon ſo ſold, after the rate of eight pence per Gallon Excize.

And provided alwayes, that no Diſtillers, or other Dealers in Spirits, *Aqua Vitæ*, or Strong Waters, as aforeſaid, ſhall have any benefit of the rates, or abatements aforeſaid, but onely ſuch as ſhall cleere the Exciſe, according to the ſaid ſeverall Rates for all Spirits, *Aqua Vitæ*, and Strong Waters, made, bought or ſold reſpectively, ſince the 11. of September 1643. by ſuch Teſtimony as ſhall ſatisfie the Commiſſioners or their Deputies, by an Accompt under their hands, to be brought in within one Moneth after the date hereof; but to pay Exeize, and to be proceeded againſt without favour, according as is expreſſed in the ſaid Ordinance of the 11. of September in this behalfe.

Joh. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

Die

Die Sabbathi 28. Septemb. 1644.

WHereas by Ordinance of Parliament, dated the 31. of Auguſt laſt, there are certaine Rules and Inſtructions eſtabliſhed, to be obſerved by the Commiſſioners of Exciſe, the Auditors in taking their Accompts, and others imployed about the Collection of the Exciſe; the which Ordinance is underſtood to be in force onely as to the time paſt, for one yeare, commencing from the eleventh of September 1643. and ending the eleventh of this preſent September 1644. And whereas it is found neceſſary, according as the preſent Commiſſioners of Exciſe are by Ordinance of Parliament, dated the 8. of Aprill laſt, continued to be chiefe Commiſſioners and Governours of the whole Office, and Receipts of the Exciſe, and new Impoſt, for one yeare longer, from the 14. of this inſtant Moneth of September 1644. that the ſaid Ordinance of the 31. of Auguſt laſt ſhould be alſo confirmed and ſtand in force for the ſame terme. Be it Ordained by the Lords and Commons in Parliament Aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame, That the ſaid Ordinance of the 31. of Auguſt laſt, and every Clauſe and Article therein contained, excepting the ſixth Article, which concernes onely the taking up the Accompts of the laſt yeare, and the Paſſings thereof in one Audit,

dit, ſhall remaine and be in force to all intents and purpoſes, for and during the next whole year, commencing from the eleventh of this preſent September, and ending on the eleventh of September next.

And be it hereby further Ordained by Authority aforeſaid, That whereas the ſaid Commiſſioners of Exciſe are further authorized by an Additionall Ordinance of Parliament dated the 8. of July laſt, to leavy and collect the ſeverall ſummes of money by way of Excize, upon the Commodities therein ſpecified: That the ſaid Commiſſioners of Exciſe ſhall be allowed the ſumme of ſix Pence upon every Pound which ſhall be received by vertue of the ſaid Ordinance, and ſhall and may chooſe and appoint ſuch Deputy or Deputies, Officer or Officers, as they ſhall think needfull for the collection thereof, and allow ſuch Salary, and yearely Stipend or Reward, unto them, and every of them, as is directed in the ſaid particulars, by the Ordinance of the eleventh of September 1643. And that they the ſaid Commiſſioners of Exciſe, their Deputies and Officers, or any of them, which ſhall do any thing in execution or performance of the ſaid Ordinance of the 31. of Auguſt laſt, ſhall be therein from time to time protected and ſaved harmleſſe by the Power and Authority of both Houſes of Parliament.

Joh. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

Die

Die Sabbathi, 5. Octob. 1644.

IT is this day Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, That all such Officers as are in the pay of the Parliament, that are come from their Charge, and shall not quit the Towne by Tuesday next, and repaire to their respective Charges, unlesse they be here by the leave of their Commander in chiefe, upon the place, or shall attend by any Order of Parliament, shall have their Pay checqued, and lose their Arreares: and the respective Treasurers and Commissioners are to take notice hereof, as they will answer the contrary.

ORdered by the Lords and Commons, That all such Souldiers as are entertained, and in the pay of any Army raised by Authority of Parliament, that shall quit that Army, and take pay and entertainment in another Army, shall be punished by death: and that all Officers that shall knowingly entertaine any Souldiers of another Army, shall be liable to such punishment as the Commissioners for Martiall Law shall think fit: The Commissioners for Martiall Law are to take care of the execution of this Order.


BRITISH MUSEUM

Joh. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

FINIS.

Numb 75. 4

A testimoniall of the valiant alls of the Plimouth *Regiment. The King moves not towards* Oxford. *Four Northern Counties entring into Association.* Crowland *Abby said to be lost. Two Popes of* Rome *chosen. The Archbishop of* Canterbury *to come to his last Triall. Propositions of Peace almost finished. Colonell* Ware, *and Colonell* Urry *two revolters, are come in againe to the Parliament with shame.*

THE KING DOMES Weekly Intelligencer:

SENT ABROAD To prevent mis-information.

From *Tuesday* the 1. of *October*, to *Tuesday* the 8. of *October*, 1644.

THis week hath produced little matter of Action in our Armies, I shall therefore in the first place informe you, of something done for the Armies, & concerning them.

1. The Parliament have voted (since my last) a Committee to go down to the Army, whose advice is to be taken by the Commander, or Commanders in chiefe; I think the like course is taken in *Holland*: There are some of the States of the United Provinces, that do accompany the P. of *Orenge*, whose concurrent advice he takes upon any designe, & he takes this for no deminution of his command; and how needfull this is in our Armies, the Kingdom is sensible of, considering what ill instruments have lately bin in the Army in the West,

which we feel by the ſad effects: never hath any man carried himſelf with more honour and valor, then my L. Generall hath done, and when ſuch as deſerve ill are removed, his Excellency will not think the worſe, but the better of the Parliament for doing it, for he writ in his Letter to the Parliament, when he ſent up Coll. *Butler* to be tried by a Councell of war, he ſhould ſtand and fall by his own innocency, though hitherto he had approved himſelf a valiant man.

Indeed the inſtructions diſperſed by Coll. *Butler*, which the King had ſent to tempt our Army, were the moſt deſperate things, that ever were yet penned, and fit in time for the publike view.

One inſtruction was; you ſhall alſo informe, that we have aſſurance of a party in both houſes, at *Weſtminſter*, that do only waite the conjunction of theſe two Armies (meaning the Kings Army, and my Lord Generals) and then they will put things to the queſtion, being backed with ſuch a ſtrength, which now they dare not propound: Alſo you ſhall enforce the conjunction of theſe two Armies the ſooner, with this Argument, that otherwiſe the *Scots* will prevaile and conquer the Kingdom, and the *Engliſh* become Subject to that Nation: There were 20. or 30. more particulars very remarkable.

Theſe inſtructions were ſent by Mr. *Harding*, ſon to the Marquiſſe of *Hertford*, to be communicated to his Excellency if upon the receipt of the Letter from the King, he entertained a Treaty, which his Excellency (as you have ſome few weeks ſince heard) refuſed, and ſcorned to be faltened upon (though by a Royall temptation) to betray his truſt, yet however theſe private inſtructions were afterwards diſperſed amongſt ſome Commanders.

You may ſee how they fancy to themſelves, a party in Parliament for them, and would have the Kingdom believe ſuch a thing: But that which ſticks moſt in their ſides, is our brethren of *Scotland*, they would faine poiſon the people with an

an opinion, that their intention is to conquer the Kingdom: never did a nation so faithfully and (in a manner) unanimously appear in the Cause of Religion, as they have done, the Cavaliers know they will not depart from their principles, nor to leave assisting *England*, till Religion, and Liberty be secured in both Kingdoms, and therefore I cannot blame the enemy to scandalize the Nation of *Scotland*, that in conclusion will prove their ruine.

While I am upon the West, let me not forget those valiant Commanders and Souldiers that were of the *Plimouth* horse, who in *Cornwall*, by their valiant actions, deserved as much honour, as could be conferred on men of merit and valour, besides they resolved to live and die with the foot, and stand with them, though most barbariously they were pillaged, and plundered, contrary to conditions, the King being in the field, and to his shame it will remaine to posterity to permit it: but time may come, we shall be even with the wicked crue, he hath to fight for him, against God, Religion, and the Kingdom.

For the valour of the Plimouth *Regiment of horse, take this testimoniall: At the instance of divers Officers of* Plimouth *Regiment, who desire a testimony of their carriage, at the late disaster at* Foy, *we thought it meete to certifie, that they approved themselves valiant VVorthies, not inferiour to any Regiment in our whole Army, even to the terrour of the enemy, and their own everlasting fame, we are confident the Relation of others will out speake us: that there was never a braver charge given to the Kings Army, all which we humbly leave to the consideration of the honorable house of Parliament.*

Plimouth, Sept. 7. 1644. Shil. Calmady, Rob. Savery, John Crocker, John Beare, Tho. Beare, Tho Ceely, &c.

All those of the Kings Army, that were of the three Regiments of the Kings horse, which were routed by Major *Straghen*, a Scottish Commander, with 100. *Plimouth* horse, can testifie the unparalelled valour of the *Plimouth* horse, which occasioned that terrour to the enemy, that the King himselfe was put in as great a fright, as when he rid hard from *Northallerton* to *Yorke*, when he heard the Scots had beaten his Army at *Newborne*.

The Parliament ordered on *Saturday* the 5. of *October*, that if any Commander, or Souldier, should stay in Town, after *Tuesday* next, that had not leave from their Commander in chiefe, or attends by order of Parliament, shall have a check put upon their pay, and the Commissary, and Muster-master in the Army, are to take notice to make stop of their pay accordingly, and that Order is sent down to the Army accordingly: And such Common Souldiers as run from their Colours, and take pay in any other Army, shall be proceeded against according to Martiall Law.

Both houses have passed a Declaration concerning the businesse of the *French Agents*, about the seizing of the person of Mistris *Levestons*, in whose house the French Agent lies, and which Gentlewoman harboured the two Irish Rebells, *Macqueere*, and *Mackmahun* three weekes in her lodging.

Those of Forraign Nations cannot think it any incivility in the Parliament, to any servant imployed by them, to search in the Gentlewomans house where the Agent lies, who had lodgings to her selfe, distinct from the Agents, for these two Rebels, who were three weeks lodged together in Mistris *Levestons* lodgings: Nay it is for the honour of that *Agent* to disavow the having any interest in Mistris *Levestons* lodgings: for otherwise he makes himselfe guilty of harbouring two Irish Rebels, who are Traitors by the Law, and by the Law it is treason in any man that shall protect them: they are such Traitors, as even King *Charles* himselfe in full Parliament

liament declared them Traitors, and therefore I hope no ſtranger will take from their crime, when the King in perſon ſo fully appeared in it.

But that the world may have ſome ſatisfaction in point of juſtice upon them, their triall is appointed this weeke, and then I hope they will make no more eſcapes.

As theſe two Rebels come this weeke to their Tryall, and Counſell appointed to that end to manage the evidence, ſo there comes to his laſt day of Tryall the Arch Malignant of *England*, *Canterbury*; his Councell are on *Friday* next to be heard to point of Law, that is, whether they can make it appeare by any Law, that the acts done by him, are not Treaſon.

Thoſe that have been at his Triall, I believe are ſatisfied, that his crimes have exceeded the Earle of *Straffords*: It is proved againſt him, that he ſaid he would make an Order at Councell Table, as effectuall as an Act of Parliament: that if the Parliament proved peeviſh, they would help the King by extraordinary wayes, upon this the Parliament broke up: then *Bellum Epiſcopale* was revived again by him, and the King being neceſſitated, was enforced to make a Peace with *Scotland*, and that was broken by him: he changed the words of the Kings Oath at his Coronation, even in thoſe points, concerning his Oath to maintain the Laws of the Land: and what oppreſſion he uſed in the ſeverall Counties, by ſilencing, baniſhing, and impriſoning, Godly miniſters, is well known, and for his bringing innovation into the Church, and ſetting up Altars, &c. is a thing ſo notorious that it need not be mentioned: Beſides his aſſuring to himſelfe the title of *Sanctitas veſtra*, &c. is an Argument, he would have been a little *Pope* in this part of the world: and what reward he deſerves, I leave to the Reader to judge.

At Rome they are in as great division as here in these parts of Christendome, For the Pope being dead, severall weeks since there was a division about the election of a new Pope, it grew to such a heat, who should be the man, that the Cardinals were in a great confusion, and Saint *Peters* Keyes were so disposed of, that it offended some of their heads, yet that night they parted faire at last, but now Letters are come which confirm, that one faction of the Cardinals have chosen a French man, and the other faction a Spaniard, so now you have two Popes; Long may they continue so, even till they have made such a breach, that some Protestant Prince may with more facility set up the preaching of the Gospell in its purity in those parts. No doubt they of Rome have not long to Raign, their cup is nigh full.

Now that I have done with Popes, Prelates, and Irish Rebels, I shall return to the present Subject, the motions of our Armies: Our Intelligence is, (which you may credit) for I seldome faile: That his Majesty is not yet come to *Oxford* with a party of horse, as some Malignants in Towne have sworn he was, nay there is a little Doctor in prison here about the Town, that took a cup of Sack, and drunk a health to his Comrades, and to the Kings comming to *London*, for he hoped to preach before him at White Hall within this moneth: Now let my little Doctor know, and the rest of the Malignants in Town, that his Majesty is still neere *Crookehorne*, at the Lord *Paulets* house, and his Army at *Chard*, *Crookehorne*, and thereabouts, sometimes he sends a party towards *Sherborn*, but Colonel *Dalbier* makes good the passage at *Blanford*, and Sir *William Waller* makes good the passage at *Shaftsbury*, at which places the Messenger left them both on *Saturday* last, and he informes further, that the Kings forces went on *Thursday* last advancing towards

Sir

Sir *William Waller*, but upon better advice retreated, or neither (as our Intelligence is) the Devonshire men follow the example of the Cornish, and will not stir out of their Counties: Besides, the Flux is much in the Kings Army, many die: The prest men will not stay; And this is the reason why the King is not able to make good his retreate to *Oxford*.

I appeale to any Malignant, if they do not think, if the King had been in a condition to pursue an advantage, as hee had one in the West, that he would not have done it; if he had been able; but lie still as he doth, till my Lord Generall be recruted again (who this week takes the field) and till my Lord *Manchester* joyn with Sir *William Waller*, and Colonel *Dalbier*, and till the five City Regiments come up after them, as a reserve; I think any man of judgement will say, surely all is not well with the King, he makes no more haste. For if once he could get *Oxford*, *Abbington* would be quitted, the siege at *Banbury*, and *Basing* raised, and then he may get reputation indeed.

From the North our News is, that *Newcastle* still holds out, every night some escape, and inform that their wants increase within: The Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Westmerland*, and Bishoprick are Associating themselves together, and have made a great progresse therein: *Leverpoole* is still begirt, and *Chester* straitened; There are two reports, the one, that we should have taken some horse from the enemy neere *Newarke*, which I do doubt: the other, that the enemy hath taken the Abbot of *Crowlands* Cloyster, which I am apt to believe, and wish (if true) that no time be lost in blocking them up.

Monday the 7. of *October*, The Lords sent down to the Commons a Message, to hasten the dispatch of the Propositions

tions for Peace, the house of Commons returned answer they were in debate of the dispatch of them, and had appointed every day to take the same into consideration, till they be finished, a few dayes will perfect them, and I hope will be with my Lord Generall, my Lord *Manchester*, and Sir *Will. Waller*, at the Generall Rendezvous beyond *Salisbury*, by that time the Armies are joyned.

The five Regiments of the City will come seasonably to second the obtaining of the Propositions, they deserve much in the honour, in preserving of the Parliament in a condition to Treate, and the Parliament have by Ordinance given them free leave to name what Commander they please, to command their Brigade, no doubt their choice will be of a tried man of valour, prudence, and piety, who lookes like a Saint, and fights like a Lyon.

Colonell *Virrey*, the same *Virrey* that (out of what reason I know not) deserted the Cause which both Kingdoms had undertaken, and himselfe was engaged in, and went to the enemy, is come to Town, and hath been examined, what his confession is I know not: so Colonell *Wire*, that is more guilty of the two, is come in likewise, I know no reason why they presume to do it, but that the Parliament is all mercy, justice will come more speedily hereafter upon Delinquents.

London Printed for R. W. *Octob.* 8. 1644.

THE Numb. 8.

LONDON POST.

Faithfully Communicating His

Intelligence of the Proceedings of Parliament, and many other Memorable Passages certified by Letters and Advertisements,

From { Crockhorne. Portsmouth. Shafisbury. Oxford. } { Pontefract. Sandall. Holmesley. Loughborough. } { Chester. Leverpoole. Bazing. Cropland. } { Durham. Newarke. Rosse. Newcastle. }

Newcastle stormed on Thursday last by a hundred Canon of our Brethren the Scots. And seven Mines taking fire at once, to blow up the Walls and Works. The desire of the City Regiments now going forth, to have Major Skippon *to be Major Generall of their Brigade, which at this present, the House of Commons thinke not fit to assent unto. The comming in of Colonell* Hurrey *into the Parliament. His Mayesties furious march this way retarded, and his retreat farther back into the West. Cumberland, Northumberland, Westmerland and the Bishoprick of Durham almost intire for the Parliament.*

Published by Authority: And Printed for G.B. Octo. 8. 1644.



WE will begin this weeks Occurrences with what wee have been advertised from *Westchester*, And that is, that Noble and valiant Sir *John Meldrum*, having raised his close siege from before *Leverpoole*, and left a considerable party behinde him to straiten the Defendants (who indeed have been extreamly streightned for want of provision) is now before *Westchester*, and being joyned with Sir *William Brereton*s forces in good hope suddenly to reduce that Towne to the obedience of the Parliament. These *Cheshire* forces, which belong to Sir *William Brereton*, are resolutable, and faithfull men, and deserve great commendation for the good service

they have done, as in many particulars, I could instance; but especially in two memorable Battells, at *Nantwitch*, and at *Montgomery* Castle. We understand that Sir *Thomas Middleton* goeth on successfully in *North-wales*, and that Collonell *Massey* doth the like in *South-Wales*. Prince *Rupert* continueth still at *Bristol*, and wanteth men and courage to oppose him.

Sir *Thomas Glenham* was conceived to be in *Lincoln-shire*, but wee are certainly informed, that he is now at *Carlile* in *Cumberland*, The reason of the Report that he was in *Lincolnshire*, was raysed on this ground; because some forces have lately been there, and made some havock up and down the Countrey. The greatest pillage which they took, was Lead, which they carried to *Newarke* with them, but a course is now taken to stop them from making any more incurtions to pillage and distresse the Countrey.

By Letters from the Earle of *Manchester* we have gained Intelligence; That his Majestie with the maine Body of his Army, consisting of about twelve thousand, was on this side *Dorchester*, and that he was aduancing either for *Oxford*, or *Sussex* and *Kent*. It was also certified, that many of his men were sick, and that upon every opportunity they could get, they would run away; whereupon his Majestie hath issued out warrants, that whosoever shall run from their Colours, shall be hanged, so that if this command be put in Execution, a great part of his Maiesties Army is not like to perish by the Sword. The Earle of *Manchester*, with a brave body of Horse and foot, is advanced to oppose him, and to joyne with Sir *William Waller*, and no doubt but you suddenly will heare of Action, and such as wee hope will reach your highest Expectation. The five Regiments of the City, are preparing with all speed to march forth, and it is conceived, that on this Day, being *October* the seventh, they will begin their March. They are to be joyned with Sir *William Waller*, or with the Earl of *Manchester*, according as the Committee shall think fit.

From *Scotland* we have received Intelligence that the Irish are driven into great extremities, and that their Ships at Sea are taken, which should have transported them backe to *Ireland*, and all the passages by land are blocked up, and of necessitie they must imbrace a swift distruction. The sword hath devoured many of them already, and famine doth threaten to consume the rest. The demeanour of those Irish is so barbarous, and their comming over unto *Scotland* so odious, that they become odious even to the Malignants themselves, insomuch that Generall *King*, who formerly

merly ſerved his Maieſty in the Earl of *Newcaſtles* Army, hath written to the Lieutenant Colonell of Generall *Leſleys* Regiment, that ſeeing the King hath cauſed the infamous Iriſh Rebells to invade the Kingdome of *Scotland*, he would willingly (if his ſervice might be accepted) come over and fight againſt thoſe bloody Rebells that have committed thoſe horrible Maſſacres, that have made them abominable, not onely to the Proteſtants, but to the Catholike themſelves. And ſince I am now in the Relation of theſe Monſters of Mankind, it will not be amiſſe in this place to acquaint you, that the two *Iriſh* Rebells, who were the firſt ſticklers and grand Incendiaries in this horrid Inſurrection in *Ireland*, are ordered to come to their triall on *Wedneſday*, at the Quarter-Seſſions in the old *Baily*, and Maſter *Pryn*, Maſter *Nudigate*, and Mr. *Bradſhaw*, are to be of counſell againſt them.

There is a Report, which finds many tongues to confirme it, that the *French* have ſent to the *Scots* for ten thouſand men, according to the condition of the auncient League betwixt both Kingdomes, and that if the *Scots* ſhall make any demurr, or abſolutely refuſe to ſend thoſe Men, that then they will proclaime the league broken, and take an occaſion to invade *Scotland*. It is alſo ſpoken, that there is now an Army in *France*, to be ſuddenly raiſed, conſiſting of fourty thouſand Men, which they ſay is procured by the Meanes of the Queene of *England*, to increaſe our Warres here by fighting againſt our Religion, Lawes, and Parliament.

My Lord Generall hath ſent a letter from *Portſmouth*, by which he certifyeth, that he hath received thirty Waggons of Cloath, deſiring that the other neceſſaries may ſuddenly be ſent, that he might be in action, hee certifies that his Souldiers are full of courage, and cry, Revenge, Revenge for the perfidious dealing of the Enemy. He alſo acquaints the Houſe, that diſpatches were good to be made, becauſe he knew how weake the Enemies Horſe and foot are, and that they will not fight, unleſſe upon great advantage, and he nobly proteſteth to the Parliament, that he will either doe the Parliament ſervice, or loſe his life in the attempt.

From *Milford* Haven wee have received Intelligence that Colonell *Gerard* is retreated from *Penbrokeſhire*, and that by reaſon thereof, the Inhabitants of the ſaid County, doe now begin to live in ſome quiet, and the brave Sea-Captaine, Captaine *Moulton*, having received Order, to ſtay two moneths longer in victualling his ſhippes in thoſe parts, in obedience to that Order.

The Houſe of Commons have taken into their conſideration the buſi-

neſſe of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and it is ordered, That his Councell ſhall be heard on *Friday* next, without any further delay, at what time it will be declared, what they can ſay for him in point of Law, whether the crimes charged againſt him, be treaſon by Law or not; and after this, the Houſe will proceed to Judgement againſt him.

Every day brings in ſome newes of His Majeſtie; wee are this day advertiſed, that he is gotten with his Army on this ſide *Dorcheſter*, and on this ſide Sir *William Waller*, it being the deſigne of the Enemy, to ſhun his forces, becauſe their Army being ſo ſick, they would not willingly have themſelves ingaged in fight. Sir *William Waller* alſo writes, that the intention of the Enemy was to march to *Wincheſter*, or to *Newbury*, and ſo to *Oxford*, which if they did, he certified that a party of my Lord Generalls Horſe were come and joyned with him, beſides his own forces under the command of Leiutenant Generall *Middleton*, and that the Earle of *Manchesters* Horſe were now drawne neer, ſo that he hoped he ſhould now be enabled to give a good account of this ſervice, and to put a period to the warres, eſpecially ſince the City Regiments were advancing out, and taking into the field, and making all the haſte they can to their aſſiſtance. He alſo certifieth, that numbers of the Kings Army are ſick, and numbers daily run away, moſt of the *Corniſh*, in whom he ſo much truſted, having deſerted him, and returned (being weary of the warre) to their native Country.

The Towne and Garriſon of *Plymmouth*, (whatſoever the Malignants doe report to the contrary) is in a good condition, Sir *Richard Greenvile* doth lie about it, but at ſome diſtance, His Quarters being about *Plimton*, *Shave*, *Saltaſh* and other places thereabouts, his chiefeſt Deſigne being to block up all manner of proviſion from comming to my Lord *Roberts* by land, which is more than he can well performe, for his Majeſties Army, have ſo miſerably oppreſſed and waſted the Country, that the inhabitants begin to repent that they entertained them.

The Parliament having taken into their conſideration the good ſervice performed by the Noble Earl of *Manchester*, with the great hopes that God will bleſſe his reſolution, and his indeavours in the *Weſt* with implored ſucceſſe, have ordered, that the continuance of his Ordinance for the Aſſociated Counties, ſhall laſt foure moneths longer. And that all Commanders and Officers might be preſent at their charges in the time of Action and of Danger, it was Ordered, that all Officers and Commanders ſetting apart all excuſes and pretences, ſhall repayre unto their co-

lours, and such as refuse to make appearance, shall have a present stop made of their pay, and the Commissary of the Army is to give notice of them, that their pay be stopped accordingly, and their persons proceeded against: And all such common Souldiers, as have forsaken their Colours, and come away to *London*, are to be apprehended, and tryed by the Martiall Law. We understand that Colonell *Bright* hath laid down his Commission, and procured a Licence from the Lord Generall, to travell beyond the Seas, whereupon the House have Ordered, that he should receive a sum of Moneys, upon Accompt, in part of the money which is due unto him for his service.

The Inhabitants of *Cumberland* and *Westmerland* to testifie their affection to the Parliament, and how weary they are of that heavy yoke which is imposed on them by the Cavaliers, have risen all as one man, and understanding where many of the Commission of Array, and other men of quality were met together to consult of more forces to be raised, being very sensible of the injuries which already they endured by the prosecution of the warre, they have seised on most of the Malignant Gentry, and brought them prisoners to Generall *Lesley*, being about threescore in number, amongst whom were many *Scottish* commanders of note and quality, one of them was brother to the Earle of *Montrosse*, and another was brother to the Lord of *Ogilby*, of the English Commanders, they seised on Colonell *Francis Carnaby*, and many others to the number of above forty; but Sir *Philip Musgrave*, and Baronet *Fletcher*, two chiefe Incendiaries escaped, though with much adoe, and got into *Carlile*, the City of *Carlile*, and the Castle of *Millian*, being the two onely places in *Cumberland* and *Westmerland* that stand out against the Parliament: Since this we have beene credibly informed by good Authority, that many Gentlemen have come in and submitted themselves to mercy.

Maior Generall *Brown* hath lately sent out some parties, and hath brought away some cattle from almost the very walls of *Oxford*; the enemie never issuing forth, nor attempting to relieve them. Colonell *Aston* the Papist, by reason of his extreme tyranny, is growne so odious to the the Souldiers at *Oxford*, that they looke every day when the City will be in a Mutiny, and make him answer his oppression by the forfeit of his life. We understand by some that lately came from *Oxford*, that there are not above two thousand and five hundred souldiers in all their Regiments which are Schollers and Inhabitants, and that there are very few others that at this present are there in Armes.

There is a report that Colonell Ware is turned againe to the Parliament side, who doth excuse himselfe, alleadging that he did his uttermost untill he was taken Prisoner by his Maiesties forces, and that he had now procured so much liberty to escape by promising to enter into his Maiesties service. If this report prove true or no, wee shall be suddenly able to declare unto you. This we are sure of, that Colonell *Cutler* is sent up to the Parliament, and committed to the Tower, to the intent that the disaster and miscariage of the affaires in the West might be examined, it being conceived that Colonell *Butler*, as well as Colonell *Ware* is faulty in that businesse, who is ordered to be examined by a Committee, and that all persons who can give any evidence against them concerning the said disaster in the West, shall be heard by the said Committee.

The siege at *Pontfrall* doth still continue. It is credibly Reported, that Sir *John Redman*, Governour of *Pontfrall*, who not long since was dangerously wounded (as you may remember we informed you) is now dead of his wounds, there hath lately been some skirmishing, wherein Corporall *Kendall*, Corporall to Sir *John Savill*, was taken Prisoner, and Cornet *Foxcraft* slaine, after the performance of brave service, being inclosed in the middle of his Enemies. Colonell *Sandys* lies close before the Castle, and intendeth speedily to give a good account of it. *Sandall* Castle is also close besieged, Sir *John Savills* Captaine was lately slaine there. Lieutenant Colonel *Forbes* made lately an assault upon the Enemy at *Holmeley* Castle, where unfortunately he was wounded, and taken Prisoner by the Enemy, who sallying forth, took also Serjeant *Joy*, and some other common Souldiers, but not long after, the Enemy were forced for their owne safety, to retreat unto the Castle.

There hath been a brave assault made lately at *Donnington* Castle; The Guns were heard to play against it all one day; and the Day following, we have made some Breaches, and are in good way for the regaining of that place.

The Northerne Army which came lately into *Yorkshire*, and by advantage of Report, was delivered to be thrice as strong againe, as indeed it was, with the assistance of the Garrison of *Newarke*, advanced toward *Lincolne*, and possessed themselves of *Turlin* Ferry, thinking thereby to streighten some Holds belonging to the Parliament of their Provision, but the valiant Colonell *Rocester*, understanding of it, did fall upon them, and by the helpe of the Earle of *Manchesters* Horse, which was designed for the preservation of that County, it is reported, that he hath killed and

taken

taken about five hundred of them, and quite frustrated their Designe, which was to raise the siege (as wee heare it reported) of *Banbury* Castle.

There is an Ordinance which is read, and Committeed by the House of Commons, for the sale of the Kings plate in the *Tower*, which he sent heretofore to *Amsterdam*, to put it into ready money, with an intent to imploy the money in providing Men and Armes to fight against the Parliament, but the Designe be discovered and prevented; It is now to be sold, and the Moneys thereby raised, are to be disbursed for the Maintenance of *Abingdon*, and some other Garrisons.

There are Letters from *Leicestershire*, which give Intelligence that a party of Colonell *Hastings* Horse did come into *Loughborough*, on Sunday *September* 22. and according to their old profanenes, they did ride into the Church, in the Time of Divine Service, and would have forced the Preacher out of the Pulpit, but the women with incredible courage and unanimity bestirred themselves so bravely, did relieve the distressed Minister, and did rescue him from their violence. Collonell *Massey* wee understand is gone from *Monmouth*, towards *Ross* in *Herefordshire*. His knowledge in war is increased by his Resolution, and successe doth constantly attend him in his Actions.

Letters sent from Sir *William Brereton*, doe confirme what I before possessed you with: which is, that he hath blocked up the City of *Westchester* in two places, so that no provision can now be brought to it by Land which he hath performed with so much judgement and dexterity, that not onely no relieve can come in thither, but by reason of the strong Fortifications he hath made, the enemy cannot issue forth to plunder the Country, or to assist the Towne of *Leverpoole*, so in that he is in good possibility to have that place surrendred to him for the service of the Parliament.

The Garrison of *Portsmouth* is to be made a thousand men compleate, and the County of *Hampshire* is to set forth a hundred Horse to be assistant to them. Provision is to be made to inable the *Militia* to raise a constant pay for three moneths, and therefore an Ordinance is passed for the raising of twenty thousand pound for three moneths out of the Excise for setling a constant pay for the City Regiments that are to goe out; as also another Ordinance for the continuall supply of the Lord Generalls Army, that his Majesties Army marching this way, they may be inabled to advance with speede.

upon

Upon desire of the five Regiments of Foot, which are now designed and Ordered to advance for the relief of the *West*, to have Major *Skippon*, Maior Generall of the Brigade, The House of Commons, upon Result of this businesse, have passed a Vote to this effect, That the House of Commons doe not conceive it convenient, as Affaires now stand, to have the Cary Brigade, which is now advancing, to be under the command of Maior *Skippon*, And it was furthermore Ordered that the Committee of the *Militia* should be acquainted with this Vote. And to testify that Maior *Skippon* is in no disrespect or disfavour with the House at all, The House of Commons, to show how much they value his Valour and his Worth, have given him five hundred pounds for his good service. A great part of this day was taken up in some further consultations concerning the Propositions of Peace, which are suddenly to be made ready, and to be presented to His Majestie.

There was never any Day that afforded lesse newes then this; for there came not any Letter at all, neither from the North, nor from the West, nor from Colonell *Massey*, or Sir *Thomas Middleton*, or Sir *William Brereton*, or from any of our Commanders. This only is too true, that the late defeat mentioned to be given to the *Newark* Cavaliers, is a mistake, for we cannot understand such good Newes from *Lincolnshire*; We heare that the forces of *Newarke* hath againe sallyed forth, and taken *Croyland* in *Lincolnshire*, and much distressed the Country thereabouts: Yet there be some againe report, affirming, that our Scouts seeing the enemy advance, with about fourteen Colours, made haste to *Croyland*, to acquaint our Garrison with it, by which meanes, they did stand upon their Guard, and prevented the Designe.

From *Newcastle*, we understand that it was on last Thursday stormed by an Hundred Canon perpetually playing on the Towne, and that they have prepared no lesse then seven Mines, and intend to give fire to them at once. The Town is undoubtedly mightily distressed, and it is conceived, it cannot hold out six dayes. I doe verily beleeve, that before the next, I shall be able to assure you, that we are masters of it: It is said, that all *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Westmerland*, and the Bishoprick of *Durham*, are now entire unto the Parliament, insomuch, that unlesse it be in one Garrison or two, a Malignant in all those Countries dares not shew his head. Colonell *Hurry* is come in to the Parliament; The King had given him a Passe to travell beyond the Sea, but he came to Sir *William Waller*, who gave him another Passe to come up to *London*, where now he is, and was yesterday before the Committee. The Malignants are like to be very much deceived in the expecting the Kings Army to march to come to *Oxford*, or to break into the Association, for we are informed (which is no good signe that things goe well with him) that he continues still at *Crookhorne*; nay, there are some honest men, who report with confidence, that hearing what strength of opposition is prepared against him, that he is retreated further in the West.

BRITISH MUSEUM

FINIS.

A TRUE RELATION OF Sir WILLIAM WALLERS Advance into the KINGS Quarters,

AND

His taking of Colonell Renegado HURREY, (and divers others) with the Particulars of his Examination before the Committee of both Kingdomes.

WITH

A Defeat given the Enemy at Milborne House, by the Earle of *Denbigh's* Horse, and Colonell *Massey*, 60. slain, 100. taken Prisoners, 200. Armes taken, the rest-routed and fled further into Wales. And the taking of Croyland by the Enemy.

ALSO

The discovery of a treacherous Designe, whereby Colonell Levison *would have seduced Captaine* Tuthill *to have betrayed Russell Hall, by profering him* 2000. *pound: and all the Letters and Articles between them, their Agents taken, his own prisoners released, and other matters of note related at large:*

As it was presented by Captaine *Tuthill* to the Committee of both Kingdomes.

Published according to Order.

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8 Printed for R. Austin. 1644.

RELATION

The Taking of Colonell Renegado-Hurrey by Sir WILLIAM WALLER.

ALSO

A Defeat given to the Enemy at Milbourne house, by the Earle of *Denbigh's* Horse, and Colonell *Massey*.

ON Munday the 7. of October instant, Colonell Renegado-*Hurrey* was brought up to London (he was surprized by Sir *William Wallers* Forces) and carried before the Committee of both Kingdoms: the substance of his confession upon examination was; That he being desirous to desert his Majesties Service, obtained leave of His Majesty to travell into Denmarke, and for his more secure passage, sought to procure a Passe from the Lord Generall, but before he could obtaine it, he, with divers other prisoners were surprized in their Quarters, by the Forces aforesaid.

Colonell *Massey* still growes victorious: for since his taking of Monmouth he hath taken Milborne-house, and placed a Garrison there, and a party of the enemy from Ragland Castle came to retake it, whereupon Colonell *Massey* having intelligence thereof, sent a Partie of the Earl of *Denbigh's* and his own, who relieved that place, slew of the enemies about 60. took 100. prisoners, and 200. Armes: the rest fled further into Wales.

The discovery of a Plot, whereby Colonell LEVISON would have seduced Captaine TUTHILL to betray Russell Hall.

THat the Enemy is at this time labouring to have many of our Garrisons to be betrayed, is very certain, and the main sticklers in this plot are Popish Priests: We have lost Croyland in Lincolnshire, but who is in fault, is not yet manifest: for many, I will instance one particular, which was acted by Colonell *Levison*, who ingaged a Popish Priest, and one *Pit* to agitate between him and Captain *Tuthill*, the Governour of Russell Hall under the Earl of *Denbigh*: but Captain *Tuthill* is too cordiall to be drawne to such trechery. First of all Colonell *Levison* sends *Pit* to him to promise him 2000. pound, if he will surrender it, and other large promises. Here followeth the Copie of Colonell *Levisons* first Letter.

SIr, the Proposition made unto you by this bearer, was done by my allowance, and shall be performed in all that he undertakes: if you please to accept of it, it shall be much to your advantage, without the least suspition on your part. I desire to hear from you suddenly.

2000. *Levison.*

Captaine *Tuthill* receiving this Letter, adviseth with the rest of the Commanders in the Garrison, as appears by this ensuing Certificate.

WHereas there hath been a businesse long in agitation betweene Colonell Levison and Captaine Tuthill of Russell Hall, these are to certifie, that there hath been nothing done in it from the very beginning till we seized upon the Messengers person, but was done by the advice of all the Officers in the house: and the reall intent of it was to gaine the men they took from us prisoners, and to indeavour to impoverish them, or cut them off: for the confirmation of which we have subscribed our hands.

John Bywater. Edward Bandolph. Daniel Prescot.
Thomas Folliot. William Shower. John Matland.
Leonard Girle.

Sir,

Captain Tuthills *Answer to Colonell* Levison.

SIr, by your Tenant *Pit* I received a note (as he saies) from you, that I may have the better assurance it is your hand, you may be pleased to deliver my prisoners you took last, and no other, for feare of suspition, which will the more confirme me: blame me not if I be cautious in such a businesse, and upon your second Letter we will agree any way and meanes how to accomplish both our desires: the prisoners are not all considerable, which makes me demand it of you: there must be a way found out that my men and Officers may not suffer: so desiring speedily to hear from you, I take my leave, Your servant, *Tuthill.*

SIr, To let you see I meane to deale plainly with you, I have released your Chyrurgeon: and though I consider not the rest, yet I have detained them, least their delivery should breed suspition. For the businesse betwixt your selfe and me, it cannot be brought to effect, but by some meeting, which I desire may be suddenly: and if you think fit of this Bearer his house, whither (in regard it is impossible for me to come without suspition) I will send a knowne Officer, with full Commission to treat with you, and whatsoever he shall conclude on, shall be faithfully performed: onely as I ingage my faith and honour you shall come and go safe, so I may desire the like ingagement from you for him. *Levison.*

SIr, I am now absolutely satisfied, and free from doubts, by your delivery of my Chyrurgion: for the other three you tooke, I have directed the bearer how they may be released to morrow under pretence that I have given order for the release of the like number, and of the same quality in Nantwich, which will free us from the danger of suspition, which is considerable in so weighty a businesse. For the main businesse, I am altogether unwilling to commit it to any more hands, but rather desire that you will send me some reasonable Propositions by the bearer, who is faithfull and carefull for both. And because I have many times heard much of your worth, if they be not too low, I shall accept them: but withall, I abhorre (when I have done this) to bee slighted, or counted treacherous or mercenary: for I must be seized on as your prisoner, but my Officers

and

and Souldiers to march away: for you know there are many eys more upon our motion, and that way of meeting is dangerous; therefore if this be to your mind, let me know, if not, if you in your wisdome can propound a more probable, I shall be willing to listen unto it: in the meane time, till I heare further from you, I rest, Your servant, *Tuthill.*

Articles of Agreement between Colonell *Levison*, Governour of Dudley Castle, and Captain *Tuthill* Governour of Russell Hall, made the 4. day of September 1644. sent by Colonell *Levison* to Captain *Tuthill* to be signed.

1 *It is agreed that Captaine* Tuthill *shall deliver up Russell Hall unto the Forces of Colonell* Levison *on Munday night next, being the 9. of this instant Moneth, betweene the houres of* 11. *and* 12.

2 *It is agreed that Colonell* Levison *shall give unto the said Captain* Tuthill 2000 *pounds of which* 200 *is immeditately to be deposited in the hands of* Francis Pit, *and to be by him delivered (upon the surrender of the house) unto the said Captaine* Tuthill, *and also immediately upon the surrender he is to receive from the hands of Colonell* Levison *the residue of the* 2000 *pound.*

3 *That the Souldiers of the said Colonell shall not plunder, nor take away the goods nor horses belonging unto the said Captaine* Tuthill, *but if any be taken, that the Colonell allow him a convenient rate for them: to the performance of these conditions, the parties above said do mutually bind themselves, in witnesse whereof they have set unto their hands.*

Captain *Tuthills* Answer.

SIr, I conceive you may deliver the 200. pound into my hands and send it by this bearer, upon the receipt whereof I will addresse my selfe to make things ready by Munday next come seven-night, and by the same Messenger send you such an obligation as shall give you satisfaction: and withall, I shall desire you will lay down the way you conceive most fit for the accomplishment

ment of the buſineſſe, and with it the very time; and I will go to Coventry to ſettle all my buſineſſe there, and when the day is prefixt by the conſent of both, I will not faile you a minute.

Yours, *Tuthill.*

Articles ſent with the ſame Letter.

1 *It is agreed that Captaine* Tuthill *ſhall deliver up Ruſſell Hall Garriſon unto the forces of Colonell* Leviſon, *on Munday night next, being the 9. of this inſtant Moneth betweene the houres of* 11, *and* 12.

2 *It is agreed on, that Colonell* Leviſon *ſhall ſend unto the ſaid Captaine* 200 *pound before Friday next, and* 1800. *preſently on the Receipt of the Houſe.*

3 *That the Officers ſhall have their owne horſes, Armes, and liberty to march to any of the Parliaments Garriſons.*

4 *That no Officer or Souldier of Colonell* Leviſons *offer violence to me, my wife, and ſervants: and ſuch goods as they have they are to enjoy without moleſtation.*

5 *That I may enjoy two of my beſt horſes, and my liberty to goe for Ireland, or live in ſome Garriſon of ſecurity, as I ſhall make choice of, now in the poſſeſſion of His Majeſties Forces.*

6 *That the Souldiers, although diſarmed, may not be detained Priſoners, but have liberty to march to any Garriſon of the Parliaments they ſhall make choice of, and have a ſufficient Convoy of Horſe for to ſecure them.*

7 *That the Garriſon be ſleighted.*

SIr, I will deliver to this bearer 200. pound to be delivered into his hands untill the condition be performed, upon which you may take from him all poſſible aſſurance to deliver it to you, and for the remainder, I ingage my faith, and the reputation of a Gentleman (greater aſſurance I cannot give you) to performe punctually what I have promiſed. The reſt I leave to the relation of this bearer, whom I judge capable of the truth.

Your ſervant, *Leviſon.*

SIr, For the first Article, it cannot be excepted against, except you desire it to be done sooner, which I cannot do, by reason of some businesse.

For the second, the bearer told me you would deliver him the money, and send me a note under your hand, that he hath it, and directions to give it me, after you receive the house, and for the Bond of 900 pound, I desire it may be sent me, with the Articles, for the other 100 pound you may please to give it the bearer: which I will allow him out of my money.

For the other Articles, they are as when you saw them last, therefore I conceive I need not speake of them: but desire you would send me these Articles writ and signed with your own hand: if you performe you part, I will on Thursday next at 11. of the Clock stand ready at the Bridge to receive you, or at the corner of the Works: there must you bring 40. Horse, and 40. Dragoons, which wilbe a greater party then I have within; you must come as Colonell *Fox*, with this word, sending a single man before you, which man I my self will challenge, and ask, *Who is there?* he must say, *Your friend*: and I will aske, *Whence?* and then he may say, *Denbigh*. And if I bid him come on with the partie, you may be confident. Draw them in a single File, for the ground will not permit you to march together. By to morrow night I expect your resolution. So with my good wishes to the businesse, I take my leave.

Your humble servant, Tuthill.

At the same time Captaine *Tuthill* having got his Prisoners from Colonell *Levison*, and seeing he could not safely proceed further, did then apprehend *Pit*, whom he hath brought up prisoner to London; he also apprehended a Popish Priest, that came in agitation with him from Colonell *Levison*, and the Horse and Dragoones: notwithstanding, they not knowing but that all went on for them, faced Russell Hall at the time appointed, and an eminent Commander came to the gate, and called *Corporall*, answer was made, *Who is there?* and the enemie said, *A friend*: *Who are you for*, said Cap. *Tuthill*: he answered, *Denbigh*: Then Cap. *Tuthill* discharged against him with his Pistolls, and he retreated: and Captaine *Tuthill* discharged his Drakes against the Body: some were seen to fall, but the particulars are onely knowne to themselves, of what losse they sustained, because none were privie to the same but themselves.

The Earle of *Denbigh* (it is hoped) will now suddenly be dispatched; and it is well; for he is so active and noble a Generall, that the Countreys under his Association long for his returne.

FINIS.

Scotland
Chapel of
K

7

THE PRINCIPALL ACTS

OF THE

GENERALL ASSEMBLY,

CONVEENED AT

EDINBVRGH,

Upon the last VVEDNESDAY of MAY,
The 29. of that MONETH,
in the year 1644.

Octob: 9. LONDON,
Printed for *Evan Tyler*, Printer to the Kings most excellent Majesty for the Kingdome of *Scotland*.
1644.

THE PRINCIPAL ACTS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, AT EDINBURGH

THE GENERALL ASSEMBLY, At EDINBURGH, 1644.

Die Jovis penult. Maii. Sess. II.

The Letter from the Presbyterie which is with the Army in England, *to the Generall Assembly.*

RIGHT REVEREND,

HAving the opportunity of the sitting of this Venerable Assembly, wee thought our selves obliged to render some accompt of the estate of our Affaires. It hath pleased the Lord to exercise us since our out-coming, with many straits and difficulties, yet in the mids thereof hee hath wonderfully upheld and carried us

through. The depth of his wisedome hath suspended us for a time from any great action, to make us walke humbly before him, and to keepe us in a continuall dependance upon himselfe: And yet he hath by his own power scattered before us the great Popish Army, and much diminished the number thereof, so that they doe not now appeare against us in the Fields; that all may learne to trust in GOD, and not in Man. It was far from our thoughts and intentions to have come this length at that instant when the course of Divine Providence pointed out our way unto us, which led us on by some long and speedy marches to joyne with my Lord *Fairfax* and his Sonne their Forces. The Citie of *York*, wherein a swarme of obstinate Papists have taken sanctuary, is blocked up; and now and then God favoureth us with successe in some enterprises about it, and we look for more, if the time be come which he hath appointed for the deliverance of this People.

Our Soules doe abhorre the treacherous attempts of our disnatured Countrey-men, that have endeavoured to make their native Kingdome a seat of Warre, and our bowels within us are moved to think upon the main mischiefes, if not timeously prevented, that may follow upon the unnaturall Warres there; like unto these under which this Kingdome hath groaned for a long time. We have found none more malicious and cruell against us than these of our owne Nation, and we measure those at home by these here; *Cursed be their rage, for it is fierce, and their anger, for it is cruell.* The present danger calls upon all to lay out of their hands what ever may hinder their haste, as one man to come together for saving the Vine-yard that the wilde Boares would lay waste, and taking the Foxes that would destroy the Vines.

Vines. You are, right Reverend, now set upon the highest Watch-tower, from whence you may discover the dangers that threaten on all coasts, and we need not put you in minde to give warning to the Watch-men in their severall stations, to rouze up the People from their too great security; to call them to unfeigned Humiliation, and to stirre them up to wrestle with God by prayer; that hee would preserve Truth and Peace at home against the machinations of Malignants; that he would prepare the People here, and make them more fit to embrace the intended Reformation; and that he would command these unnaturall and bloody Wars to cease, that Religion and Righteousnesse may flourish through the three Dominions. Praying God to send upon you the Spirit of Truth, who may lead you in all truth, We remaine

Middle-thorp, 20 *Maii* 1644.

Your loving Brethren, The Presbyterie of the Scottish Army in England,

Master ROBERT DOUGLAS Moderator in their name.

The

The Petition from the distressed Christians in the North of Ireland.

To the Reverend and Honourable Moderator and remanent Members of the Generall Assembly of *Scotland*, conveened at *Edinburgh* in May 1644.

The humble Petition of the distressed Christians in the North of Ireland.

Humbly sheweth,

THAT whereas your former enlarged bounty, and our present overflowing straits would require a gratefull acknowledgement of the one, and a serious representation of the other: Our case is such, as neither can be expected at our hands, being stricken with astonishment, and full of the fury of the Lord. We are those indeed who have seene affliction by the rod of his wrath: So that it were more fit, we had a Cottage in the Wilderneſse amongst the Owles to mourne out our imbittered Spirits, then that by word or writ we should compeere before any of his People: Although you cannot bee wearied in well doing, yet we shall no way think it strange, if now you shall give over any more care of us: Seeing the Lord hath testified against us, and the Almighty hath afflicted us. Your judgement is with the Lord, and your reward

reward is with God, not onely for your two years visiting and watering a barren vineyard, but also for your zeale and care to have your Reformation spred amongst other oppreſt and born-downe Churches, whereof you have given an ample and famous teſtimony in ſending hither that bleſſed League and Covenant which wee much deſired and longed for, as by our Petitions to the Church and State of our Native Kingdome is knowne unto you; which hath had a wiſhed and gracious ſucceſſe by the favour and bleſſing of God, accompanying the paines of theſe to whom the tendering thereof was intruſted by you. And we conceiving a chiefe part of our miſery to conſiſt in our want of opportunity to joyn our ſelves with the People of God in the foreſaid League; Eſteeming our ſelves rejected of God and unfit to be joined in any comfortable fellowſhip in the Goſpel with them, when the ſaid League and Covenant was preſented to the Regiments; We made bold to lay hold upon the opportunity (though afflicted abjects) and cheerfully and unanimouſly joyned our ſelves thereunto: That if we periſh in our miſery, we may dye a Covenanted People; and, if our miſerable life be prolonged, we may find ſhelter and refreſhment under the ſhadow thereof in our fierie trials, confidently expecting from the Lord by our neerer conjunction with you than of before, an accompliſhment of what is agreed into the Covenant, which ye bountifully expreſſed before we were one with you, to your never-dying-commendation. Wee are nothing ſhaken in our mindes with the odious aſperſions of ſedition, combination againſt the King, and overthrow of Municipall Laws, &c. (wherewith our Covenant is branded) nor with the

threats of these who should be comfortable to us in our troubles: But are the more incouraged to beleeve that God shall raise up the Tabernacle of *David* that is fallen, and repaire the breaches thereof: For, since wee Covenanted with God, and united our selves together, our dying spirits have revived, and we sing like these who have come forth from their Graves, for God hath had mercy on *Iacob*: In testimony whereof he hath opened the bowels of the Churches of *Holland*, who were strangers to us, and yet deare Brethren, and tender Sympathizers with our afflictions and sorrowes, who, when these who were left of the Sword were in danger to dye by famine, did plentifully releeve us in our straits, not onely by comfortable encouragements to walke humbly with God, and wait for him who hides his face from the house of *Iacob* for a season; but also by their rich supply in Victuals and others necessar for our reliefe and comfort, which we humbly desire our Lord to repay seven-fold in their bosome, and become your Supplicants to joyne with us in a gratefull acknowledgement of their singular favours: And upon the heeles of these favours you have continued your unparalelled compassions in keeping your forces and enabling them, together with the other Forces, for avenging the cruell murders, and effusion of Christian blood in this Land, notwithstanding of your owne multiplied difficulties. The Lord hath begun to delight into us, and in a day of salvation hath helped us, (So happy are the people who are in Covenant with God.) We are these (indeed) who may justly bee burnt up for our unfruitfulnesse in the days of our plenty, and stubbornesse in the dayes of our affliction, which hath brought

us

us so low, that where we once enjoyed a blessed plenty, we must now beg of the crumbs that fall from your Table: We cannot dissemble, but so farre as wee can discerne our owne hearts, we would preferre the joyfull sound of the Gospel to our much wished Peace and precious lives: But it may be discerned, your Consultations of before have been guided by the Spirit of the Lord; in that when we twice in our forward hasting desires begged the present loosing and planting of some Ministers amongst us, you judged it more convenient to supply us by turnes, as foreseeing that our Captivity was likely to endure: Our hopes are so far revived, that we trust to see the day when he shall take the Cup of trembling out of our hands, and put it in the hands of them that afflicted us.

And therefore, if you account us fellow-partners of the Purchased Inheritance, yet againe suffer our necessitie to plead with you, that as it hath beene by the Committee of Bils already advised, that a competent number of Ministers may be gifted to us by your Commission when they shall see the Calling cleared, the same may be granted as a testimony of your confidence, and expectation of our delivery; And in the meane time some others may be sent by turnes to keepe in the dying lives of above twenty four desolate Congregations, who are in danger to perish for want of Vision: And although we doe professe, we count not our selves worthy of such favours, yet as wee have resolved to dye with the cry of hope in our mouthes to the Lords Throne; So in obedience of the use of the meanes by him appointed, we stretch out our hearts and our hands to you for helpe, and have sent our Brother *William*

Mackenna Merchant at *Belfast*, to attend what answer it shall please the Lord by you to returne unto

Your distressed Brethren and Supplicants.

Subscribed by very many hands.

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3. *Junii* 1644. *Ante meridiem.* Sess. V.

Act for the present Entry of the new erected Presbyterie at Biggar.

THe which day anent the Supplication subscribed and given in to the General Assembly by the Ministers and ruling Elders of the Kirks of *Biggar*, *Skirling*, *Brochton*, *Glenquhome*, *Kelbocho*, *Culter*, *Lamyngtoun*, *Symontoun*, *Covingtoun*, *Quothquen*, *Welstoun*, and *Dolphingtoun*, making mention, That the Generall Assembly at *Edinburgh* in August 1643. years, by their Act of the date of the twelfth day of the samine moneth and yeare, did upon good grounds, and after tryall and hearing of all Parties to the full, erect a Presbytery seat at *Biggar*, to consist of the Kirks above written; And granted to their Presbyterie full.

full power of juriſdiction and exerceing Diſcipline, with all other Liberties and Priviledges belonging to any other Presbyterie; but ſuſpended the entry and poſſeſſion of this new erected Presbytery, during the pleaſure of the Aſſembly: And therefore deſiring the ſaid Generall Aſſembly to ordaine and appoint the entrie and poſſeſſion of the foreſaid Presbyterie at *Biggar*, now preſently; And to declare, that it is their pleaſure, that the entry and poſſeſſion thereof ſhall be no longer ſuſpended, as the Supplication proports. Which Supplication being read in audience of the Generall Aſſembly, and thereafter the Commiſſioners from the Preſbyteries of *Lanerk* and *Peebles*, and all others having entreſſe to oppoſe the deſire foreſaid being publickly called, and the ſaids Commiſſioners for *Peebles* and *Lanerk* perſonally preſent, being at length heard in what they could ſay or alledge therein: And the ſaid Supplication and deſire thereof, with the Alledgeances and Objections made againſt the ſamine, being taken to conſideration by the Aſſembly, and they therewith being fully and ripely adviſed: The Aſſembly after removing of the Parties, and after conſideration of the premiſſes, and voicing of the foreſaid deſire, Ordaines the entrie and poſſeſſion of the foreſaid Presbyterie of *Biggar*, conſiſting of the particular Kirks above-mentioned, to begin now preſently; And appoints and ordaines all the Miniſters and Ruling Elders of the foreſaids Kirks above ſpecified, whereof the ſaid Presbyterie conſiſts, to meet and conveene as a Presbyterie, with all convenience, at the ſaid Kirk of *Biggar*, which is the Place and Seat of the ſamine Presbyterie. And the Aſſembly referres to the Commiſſioners to be ap-

pointed by them for the publick affaires of the Kirke, to determine to what Synod this the said new erected Presbyterie shall be subordinate; As also to prescribe the order and solemnities that shall be necessar for entring and possessing the Ministers and Elders in the said Presbyterie.

Junii 3. 1644. Sess. VI.

Act concerning the Declaration subscribed by the Scottish Lords at Oxford.

THe Generall Assembly having received a Copy of a Declaration, made and subscribed at *Oxford*, sent unto them from the honourable Convention of Estates, and having seriously considered the tenour thereof, doth finde the same to be a perfidious Band and unnaturall confederacy, to bring this Kirk and Kingdome to confusion, and to be full of blasphemies against the late solemn League and Covenant of the three Kingdomes, of vile aspersions of Treason, Rebellion and Sedition, most falsly and impudently imputed to the Estates and the most faithfull and loyall Subjects of these Kingdomes: And seeing it is incumbent to the Assembly to take notice thereof, and to stop the course of these malicious intentions, in so farre as concernes them, Declare that the subscribers of this or the like Declaration or Band, or any

any that have beene accessorie to the framing, or that has beene, or shall be accessory to the execution thereof, deserve the highest censure of the Kirk: And therefore gives power to the Commissioners of this Assembly appointed for the publick affairs, to proceed against them to the sentence of Excommunication, unlesse they make humble confession of their offence publickly, in such manner, and in such places as the Commission shall prescribe; Or otherwise to refer the triall and censure of such Delinquents to Presbyteries or Synods as they shall think convenient. And when the sentence of Excommunication shall be pronounced, discharges Presbyteries or Synods to relax any from the sentence, without the advice of the Generall Assembly, or their Commissioners, *nisi in extremis*. And in respect of the atrocity of this fact, the Assembly in all humility, do seriously recommend to the right honourable the Estates of Parliament to take such course, as the persons that shall be found guilty, may be exemplarly punished, according to the merit of so unnaturall and impious an offence: And that some publick note of ignominy be put upon the Declaration and Band it selfe, if their Honours shall think it meet.

Act against the Rebels in the North and South of the Kingdome.

THe Generall Assembly considering the just sentence pronounced against the principall Actors in that Rebellion in the North and South, by ordinance of the Commissioners of the late Assembly; And finding it most necessary, that such as assisted or joyned with them in that impious and unnaturall Fact, be likewise censured; Therefore ordains Presbyteries and Synods *respectivè*, to proceed against them with the highest Censures of the Kirk, if they give not satisfaction by publick repentance; And when the sentence of Excommunication shall be pronounced, the Assembly discharges the said Judicatories to relax any of them from the sentence, without the advice of the Generall Assembly, or their Commissioners, *nisi in extremis:* To whom also the saids Presbyteries and Synods shall be answerable for their diligence in the premisses as they shall be required. And the Assembly doth humbly recommend to the Honourable Estates of Parliament, to take such course as the Persons that shall be found guilty may be exemplarly punished according to the merit and degree of their offence.

Act

Act against secret disaffecters of the Covenant.

THe Generall Assembly understanding that divers persons dis-affected to the Nationall Covenant of this Kirk, and to the Solemne League and Covenant of the three Kingdomes, do escape their just censure, either by their private and unconstant abode in any one Congregation, or by secret conveyance of their malignant speeches and practices; Therefore ordaines all Ministers to take speciall notice when any such person shall come within their Paroches, and so soone as they shall know the same, that without delay they cause warne them to appeare before the Presbyteries within which their Paroches lyes, or before the Commissioners of this Assembly appointed for publick affaires, as they shall finde most convenient, which warning the Assembly declares shall be a sufficient citation unto them: And als that all Ministers and Elders delate to the saids Judicatories *respectivè*, every such dis-affected person, although without their owne Paroch, so soone as they shall heare and be informed of them. And the Assembly ordaines the saids Commissioners not onely to proceed to Triall and Censure of such dis-affected Persons, but also to take a speciall account of the diligence of Ministers, Elders, and Presbyteries herein *respectivè*.

Act for sending Ministers to the Army.

THe Assembly understanding that Ministers are not duly sent forth to the Regiments of the Army, neither such as are sent duly relieved, which neglect falleth out oftimes, by reason of questions among Presbyteries interessed in the Regiments: Therefore for remedy hereof, thinkes it convenient that this order be keeped hereafter; That a List be made of three Ministers by the Colonels, or in their absence the chiefe Officers of every Regiment, with advice and consent of the Presbytery at the Army, and sent to Presbyteries here, or if the List be of Ministers in divers Presbyteries to the Commissioners of the Generall Assembly, that they may appoint one out of that List to bee sent to the Regiment, to attend them for performing Ministeriall duties three Moneths: And that the relief of Ministers already sent or to be sent hereafter, shall be in the same manner. And the Assembly ordaines Ministers who shall be thus appointed by Presbyteries or the Commissioners of the Assembly *respective*, to repair to the Army with all diligence, under the paine of suspension: And humbly recommends to the Honourable Estates of Parliament, to provide some way whereby these Ministers may have due and ready payment of their allowance, from the time of their going from their charges here. And it is declared that this order shall be also keeped for sending forth of Ministers to the Regiments in the second expedition.

Renova-

Renovation of the Commission for the Publick affairs of the Kirk.

THe General Assembly considering that the Commissioners appointed by the last Assembly upon the nineteenth day of August 1643. years, the last Session thereof to sit at *Edinburgh* for the Publick affaires of the Kirk, have not yet fully perfected that great Worke for Unity of Religion, and Uniformity of Kirk-Government in his Majesties Dominions; And that now in respect of the present condition of affaires in this Kingdome, their proceedings cannot be examined at this time: Therefore finding it necessar that the said Commission be renewed unto the Commissioners therin mentioned, and to the persons afternamed, now thought fit to be added for the better expediting of the businesse; Doe hereby appoint the persons particularly nominate in the said Commission, *viz.* Masters, *Andrew Ramsay, Alexander Henderson, Robert Douglas, William Colvill, William Bennet, George Gillespie, Iohn Oiswald, Mungo Law, Iohn Adamson, Iohn Sharp, Iames Sharp, William Dalgleish, David Calderwood, Andrew Blackhall, Iames Fleming, Robert Ker, Iohn Maughie, Oliver Colt, Hugh Campbell, Adam Penman, Richard Dickson, Andrew Stevinson, Iohn Lawder, Robert Blair, Samuel Rutherfurd, Arthur Murtoun, Robert Traill, Frederick Carmichael, Iohn Smith, Patrick Gillespie, Iohn Duncan, Iohn Hume, Robert Knox, William Iameson, Robert Murray, Henry Guthrie,*

thrie, Iames Hamiltoun in Dumfreis, Bernard Sanderſon, Iohn Levingſtoun, Iames Bonar, Evan Camron, David Dickſon, Robert Bailzie, Iames Cuninghame, George Young, Andrew Affleck, David Lindſay, Andrew Cant, William Douglas, Murdo Mackeinzie, Coline Mackeinzie, Iohn Monroe, Walter Stuart Miniſters; Archbald Marqueſſe of Argyle, William Earle Marſhall, Iohn Earle of Sutherland, Alexander Earle of Eglintoun, Iohn Earle of Caſsils, Charles Earl of Dumfermeling, Iohn Earle of Lauderdale, Iohn Earle of Lindſay, Iames Earle of Queensberry, William Earle of Dalhouſie, Archbald Lord Angus, Iames Vicount of Dudhope, Iohn Lord Maitland, David Lord Elcho, Iohn Lord Balmerinoch, Iames Lord Cowper, Sir Patrick Hepburne of Waughtoun, Sir Archbald Iohnſtoun of Wariſtoun, Sir David Hume of Wedderburne, Sir Alexander Areskine of Dun, Sir William Cockburne of Langtoun, Sir Thomas Ruthven of Frieland, Sir Iames Arnot of Fernie, Sir Walter Riddall of that Ilk, Sir Lodovick Houſtoun of that Ilk, Sir William Carmichael Fiar of that Ilk, Maſter George Douglas of Bonjedburgh, Maſter George Winrame of Libbertoun, Laird of Brodie Sir Iohn Smith, Iames Denniſtoun, Maſter Robert Kartlay, Iohn Rutherfurd, William Glendunning, Iohn Sempil, Iohn Kennedy, and Maſter Alexander Douglas Elders: And alſo Maſters, David Dalgleiſh, Andrew Bennet, Iohn Moncreiff, Alexander Carſe, Thomas Wilkie, Iames Guthrie, Henry Levingſtoun, David Drummond at Creiff, Iohn Hay at Renfrew, Iohn Strang, Richard Inglis, William Falconer, Iohn Paterſon, Gilbert Roſſe, Richard Maitland, George Cumming, William Campbel Miniſters, And William Earle of Glancairne, William Earle of Louthian, Iames Lord Murray of Gask, Iohn Lord Yeſter, Robert Maitland, Frederick Lyon

of

of *Brigtoun*, *Iames Macdowell* of *Garthland*, *David Beton* of *Creich*, Sir *Iames Stuart* Sheriffe of *Buit*, Sir *Iohn Weemes* of *Bogie*, Maſter *William Sandilands* Tutor of *Torphichin*, *Archbald Sydſerfe*, *Laurence Henderſon*, *Iames Stuart*, *Thomas Paterſon*, and *Alexander Iaffray* Elders now added by this Aſſembly, to meet at *Edinburgh* upon the fifth day of this inſtant moneth of June, and upon the laſt Wedneſday of Auguſt next, the laſt Wedneſday of November next, and upon the laſt Wedneſday of February next; and upon any other day, or in any other place they ſhall think meet: Giving and granting unto them, or any fifteene of them, there being twelve Miniſters preſent, full power and commiſſion to proſecute the ſaid work of unity in Religion, and uniformity of Kirk-government in all his Majeſties dominions, and to doe and performe all things particularly or generally contained in the ſaid Commiſſion of the preceding Aſſembly, or in an Act of the ſaid Aſſembly upon the ſaid 19. day of Auguſt, intituled, *A Reference to the Commiſſion anent the Perſons deſigned to repair to the Kingdome of England*, and to treat and determine therein, and in all other matters referred unto them by this Aſſembly, ſiclike, and as freely, as if all theſe were herein expreſſed, and as the perſons nominat in the ſaid former Commiſſion might have done by vertue of the ſaid Act and former Commiſſion at any time by-gone, and with as ample power as any Commiſſion of former Generall Aſſemblies hath had, or been in uſe of before, they being alwayes comptable and cenſurable for their whole proceedings hereintill by the next Generall Aſſembly.

Renovation of the Commission granted to the Persons appointed to repair to the Kingdome of England.

THe Generall Assembly, finding that the great Work of unity in Religion, and uniformity of Kirk-government in all his Majesties Dominions is not yet perfected, Do therefore renew the Commission granted for that effect by the preceding Assembly, unto the Persons appointed to repaire to the Kingdome of *England* upon the 19. day of August 1643. in the last Session thereof, Giving and granting to the Persons therein mentioned, the same power, to doe all and every thing particularly or generally contained in the said Commission, in the same manner, and as fully, as if the same were herein expressed, and as they might have done at any time by-gone by vertue of the former Commission.

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The Assemblies answer to the Presbyterie which is with the Armie.

Reverend and loving Brethren in the LORD.

WE received yours of the 17. and 20. of May, and were much refreshed with the knowledge you gave unto us therein, of your sense of our condition here, and of the Lords dealing with your selves there in your straits and difficulties: We rejoyce exceedingly to see you make such a blessed use of the Lords delayes, for your further Humiliation and Dependence upon him: That Sanctuary, your Enemies, and the Enemies of your GOD hath taken, shall not save them: You have found by experience in your marches and maintenance, that events are not ordered by the propositions of men, but by the Providence and purpose of GOD. There is a time for every purpose under Heaven, and the Cup of the *Amorites* must be filled: Which being now full of every abomination, yea of the blood of the Saints, the cry whereof cannot but be heard in Heaven, and answered on Earth, presageth no lesse to us, than that the Lords time of his deliverance of his owne, and destruction of his Enemies draweth near.

We are not unsensible of your present estate, and by the Lords grace shall be carefull, both here and with our Congregations at home, to make all take the same to heart. As for our condition here remembred with such pious affection by you, we doubt not but ye have heard

heard what the Lord hath done for us; these happy beginnings of the Lords scattering our unnaturall Enemies in the North, gives us confidence of his assistance in the midst of difficulties against these that assault us in the South: It is nothing with the Lord to help whether with many, or with them that have no power.

The security of this Nation indeed is great, it is our part to blow the Trumpet to give warning to the People, and to rouze them from that fearfull condition which threatneth so much desertion. And to this end we have injoyned a solemne Fast, the causes whereof being more particularly considered by our Commissioners here, will no question be sent unto you, that if the Lord please, you may joyn with us therein that action.

We have set downe an order to be kept hereafter, for sending Ministers unto the Army, which the Clerke will send herewith unto you. Now the Lord our God, in whose Name his people goe forth against his Enemies, helpe and assist them, and cover their heads in the Day of Battell, and be their Refuge; and blesse your travels and endeavours, for the good of their soules and his owne glory.

Edinburgh, 3. June 1644.

Subscribed in name of the Generall Assembly by the Moderator.

The Letter from the Synod of Divines in the Kirke of England, to the Generall Assembly.

Right Honourable, right Reverend, and dearly beloved Brethren in JESUS CHRIST.

THe blessing and comfort of that inviolable Union which our gracious GOD hath vouchsafed to both Churches and Nations, gave us opportunity the last yeare, to breath out some of our sighs into your compassionate bosomes: And such have beene the soundings of your bowels, as have offered violence to Heaven by your effectuall fervent prayers, and brought many sweet refreshings to our languishing spirits by your pious and comfortable Letters, in answer to ours.

This makes us studious of all means of acknowledging your tender Sympathie, and of laying hold on all opportunities of repairing again to the same streams of consolation: for which end, as we cannot but confesse, that in the midst of those boysterous waves wherein we have been daily tossed, we have met with many gracious and unexpected encouragements: so wee must needs renew our former mournings, and rend our hearts afresh unto you with greatest instance for all the assistance that your Prayers, Tears, Learning, Piety, and Largenesse of heart can possibly contribute to your poore afflicted and still conflicting Brethren: And this we the rather beg of you, who, having been first in the furnace of affliction, and are come out of great tribulation, are meetest to commiserate, and best able to comfort others in any trouble, by the comforts wherewith you your selves have been comforted of GOD.

It was in our desires to have presented to your Venerable Assembly, some of our deerest respects in writing, by that emi-

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[illegible] name of the [illegible] Assembly by [illegible] Moderator.

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It was in our desires to have presented to your Venerable Assembly, some of our deerest respects in writing, by that emi-

nently learned and much honoured Commissioner of yours, the Lord *Waristoun*: But his departure hence was so sudden to us, and unexpected by us, that we could not have time (as his Lordship can informe you) to tender by him such a testimony of our Brotherly and intimate affections, as may in some measure suite wi h your manifold and most affectionate expressions towards us, when our sighings were many, and our hearts faint: For such hath beene your love, that no waters can quench it, and such the undertakings of the whole Kingdome of *Scotland*, through your furtherance, that wee already begin to reape the fruits of all that Piety, Prudence, and Valour, which at this day render your Nation worthily renowned in the Christian World; and us, exceedingly straitned and restlesse in our selves, untill GOD please to open a way for our endeavours, to make some more answerable returnes.

Toward this, our thoughts and hopes were to have made, ere now, some proceedings of our Assembly legible in yours. But such are the continued distractions which lye upon our spirits, by meanes of the sad and bleeding condition of th s Kingdome, as have cast us much behinde our owne expectations, and hindred that expedition which the necessities of this Nation, and the desires of our Brethren abroad, doe earnestly call for at our hands.

Sometimes through GODS goodnesse wee have a prosperous Gale: Sometimes againe, we saile like *Paul* and his company, *very slowly many dayes*. And even then, when we draw near *the faire havens*, some contrary Windes put us out into the Deep again. We walk in paths that have hitherto beene untrodden by any Assembly in this Church: Wee therefore are inforced to spend more time in our inquiries, and in seeking of GOD a right way for us, that at length we may put into that high way, the way of holinesse, wherein Wayfaring men, though fools, shall not erre: And we will wait upon our GOD

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(before whom we have been this Day humbling of our Souls) untill he lead us into all these Truths which we seeke after; and wee shall labour to be yet more vile in our owne eyes, as finding by experience that it is not in man to direct his way.

Those Winds which for a while doe trouble the Aire, do withall purge and refine it: And our trust is that through the most wise Providence and blessing of GOD, the Truth by our so long continued agitations, will bee better cleared among us; and so our service will prove more acceptable to all the Churches of Christ, but more especially to you, while we have an intentive eye to our peculiar Protestation, and to that publicke Sacred Covenant entred into by both the Kingdomes, for Uniformity in all his Majesties Dominions.

Which Work we carry on (against what ever difficulties are cast in our way) with more ease and comfort, by the great sedulity and seasonable assistance wee daily receive from your Noble and Reverend Commissioners sitting among us: Their Prudence will (we doubt not) sufficiently furnish you with more particular information touching our affairs: And here, we cannot but acknowledge that the assiduous presence of these our learned and highly-esteemed Brethren among us, and their free and faithfull contributing of their counsels to us, doe oblige us much to a double duty, the one of Thanks which we now heartily render to you, for sending to us such excellent Helpers; the other of Request which we earnestly make for their continuance with us, untill the Work be brought up to the finishing Cubite.

Now, the Great Master-Builder (without whose Almighty concurrence the Builders labour but in vaine) accomplish and perfect all his own glorious Worke in your hands, and in ours also, to his own Glory, the peace and edification of all the

Churches, and the comfort of our selves over all our travels and sufferings.

Westminster, May 17. 1644.

Your most affectionate Brethren and servants in the LORD, *by the direction, and in the Name of this whole Assembly*,

WILLIAM TWISSE, Prolocutor.
CORNELIUS BURGES, Assessor.
HENRY ROBROUGH, Scriba.
ADONIRAM BYFIELD, Scriba.

The Generall Assemblies Answer, to the right Reverend the Assembly of Divines in the Kirk of England.

Right Honourable, right Reverend, and most dearly beloved in our LORD,

WE do thankfully acknowledge your respectfull remembrance of us by your Letters at all occasions; and not a little rejoyce to see that happie correspondence and Christian communion so sweetly entertained amongst us, which is so acceptable in the sight of the Lord, so pleasant and profitable, especially when kept and entertained betwixt Kirks and Kingdomes about affairs of highest and most publick concernment and interest: We have nothing more in our desires than to entertain that harmonious correspondence, that Christian sympathie

pathie and compaſſion, that ſounding and reſounding of bowels, which well beſeemeth Kirks and Nations, united by a ſolemn League and ſacred Covenant, for mutuall endeavours, by all lawfull meanes, to a further unitie in that Faith once delivered to the Saints, and greater Uniformity in Divine Worſhip, Diſcipline, and Government, according to the Paterne.

The caſe and condition of your bleeding Kingdom is no leſſe ſenſible to us, than if our ſelves were in the ſame affliction with you; but we truſt all is working to your beſt, and to our Lords glory: That ſome of you hes ſuffered, it is to try you, purge you, and make you white: If the Lord by thoſe means be with that reformation of his Ordinances, bringing alſo alongſt that other Reformation of hearts and lives, ſhould it not be welcomed with all joy, although it be upon the expence of blood and lives? The Lord will turn the by-gone rage of Man to his glory and your ſpirituall good, and the remnant of rage will he reſtraine. The Lord delivereth his owne by degrees, *he is with them in trouble, and delivereth them, and honoureth them*; He who hath been ſenſibly with you hitherto, and upholden you in your trouble, will we truſt, yet deliver you, and honour you: The more ye ſow in teares, the greater ſhall be your harveſt of peace and joy, when the Lord, according to the dayes wherein he hath afflicted you, and the yeares wherein ye have ſeen evill, ſhall make you glad, and his Work to appeare unto you, and his glory unto your children, and the beautie of the Lord your God to be upon you, and ſhall eſtabliſh the worke of your hands; yea, even eſtabliſh the work of your hands.

We ſhould prove both unthankfull to God, and unfaithfull to men, did we not hold out unto you the Lords gracious and powerfull dealing with us in the like condition, and comfort you with the conſolations wherewith we our ſelves have been comforted: We were involved in the like difficulties; we had the ſtrong oppoſition of higheſt Authority ſet over two powerfull

Kingdomes, beside this of ours; and the unhappy providence of our wickedly-wise and wary Prelates, had done what in them lay, to make the Ministery of this Land sworn Enemies to the intended Reformation: So that we walked in a very wilderneſſe, in a labyrinth, and as upon deep waters, wherein not onely did our feet loſe footing, but alſo our eyes all diſcovering or diſcerning of any ground; yea, we were ready to loſe our ſelves: Yet the Lord hath graciouſly rid us, and recovered us out of all theſe difficulties, and ſet our feet upon a rock, and ordered our goings. The experience we have had in our own perſons, affoordeth us confidence and hope concerning your affaires; and we truſt this hope ſhall not be diſappointed; it is our duty to hope upon experience, and it is the Lords word and promiſe, that ſuch an hope ſhall not be aſhamed. It cannot chooſe but beget confidence in you, when ye ſhall conſider, that ye have ſeene before your eyes your neighbouring Ship of this Kirke and Kingdome, having (as it were) looſed from your ſide, in the like or ſelf-ſame ſtorme, notwithſtanding all toſſing of windes and waves, yet (*not by might, nor by power, but by the Spirit of the Lord of hoſts*) to have arrived ſafe and ſound to the Port and Harberie; yea, and to have dared to put out again unto the ſtorm, to contribute her weak endeavours for your help.

We acknowledge your impediments to be great and many; the ſufferings of your Brethren, the People of GOD, cannot chooſe but both damp your ſpirits, and divide your thoughts; Your walking in an untroden and unknown way, muſt put you (though never ſo willing to go on ſpeedily, yet) to take time and leiſure to ask for the right way; and ye want not the oppoſition of ſome amongſt your ſelves, to whom notwithſtanding we truſt the Lord will reveale his truth in his owne time. Nevertheleſſe (much honoured and dear Brethren) go on courageouſly againſt the ſtream of all oppoſition; every Mountain

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in the way of *Zerubbabel*, the Lord shall make plain; and as many of you as are perfect, be thus minded, that forgetting the things that are behinde, and looking to the things that are before, you presse hard towards the mark, as having before you, not onely the prize of the high calling and recompence of reward, but also at the end of this race, these two precious Pearls and inestimable Jewels of Truth and Unity, and all the Reformed Churches beholding and looking on, not only as witnesses, but also being ready to congratulate and embrace you.

We were greatly refreshed to heare by Letters from our Commissioners there with you, and by a more particular relation from the Lord *Warristoun* now with us, of your praiseworthy proceedings, and of the great good things the Lord hath wrought among you, and for you: Shall it seem a small thing in our eyes, that the Covenant (the foundation of the whole Work) is taken? That that Antichristian Prelacy with all the train thereof is extirpate? That the door of a right entrie unto faithfull Shepherds is opened by you; many corruptions, as Altars, Images, and other Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition removed, defaced and abolished; the Service-Book in many places forsaken, and plaine and powerfull preaching set up; the great Organs at *Pauls* and *Peters* taken down; That the Royall Chappell is purged and reformed, Sacraments more sincerely administrate, according to the paterne in the Mount; That some Colledges, the Seminaries of your Kirk, are planted with able and sincere Professors? That the good hand of GOD hath called and kept together so many pious, grave and learned Divines for so long a time, and disposed their hearts to search his Truth by their frequent Humiliations, continuall Prayers, and learned and peaceable debates? Should not all and each one of these stir up our souls to blesse the Lord, and render both you and us confident, that he who begun the good Work, will perfect it, and put the Cope-stone upon it; That

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the beauty of a perfected Worke may shine to all Nations, and we may say and shout, *Grace, Grace, unto it*; that the time may be when full liberty & leasure shall be to all the Builders of the House of GOD, to give themselves with both their hands to the building up and edifying the people of GOD in these things that belong to life and Godlinesse, to the making of them wise to salvation, and throughly furnished to every good worke, and when the Lord shall delight to dwell more familiarly, and to worke more powerfully in, and by his throughly purified ordinances? That you afflicted and tossed with tempests and not comforted, shall have your stones laid with fair Colours, your foundations with Saphires, your Children shall be taught of GOD, and shall have great peace, and no Weapon framed against you shall prosper, and every tongue that riseth against you in Judgement shall be condemned; That the Lord will awake as in the ancient dayes, as in the generation of old; That the Redeemed of the Lord shall come unto Zion with singing, and sorrow and mourning shall flee away.

And as we are confident that the Lord who heareth Prayer, and hath promised to guide his servants into all truth, will bring your labours to a comfortable conclusion: So do all the Reformed Kirks, and the Kirk of *Scotland* above all others extreamly long for the taste of the fruits of your pious labours and continuall pains: And so much the more, that we have suspended some materiall determinations amongst our selves, upon expectation of Uniformity; and that in the meane time so many scandalous Papers come to our view, and to the hands of the People here, for liberty of conscience, toleration of Sects, and such Practices as are contrary to the Doctrine, Government, and Peace of all the Reformed Kirks. For stopping & suppressing whereof, as we doubt not, but your Wisedome and the Authority of the Honourable Houses of Parliament will use some more effectuall means; So do we hope that your determinations

tions shall carry such evidence of Divine Truth, and demonstration of the Spirit, that those unhappy Clouds of darknesse shall be so scattered, that they shall be no more gathered nor appeare hereafter, to the dishonour of God, the prejudice of his Truth, and the scandalizing of so many Souls for which Christ hath dyed.

We doe with hearty thankfulnesse resent all the kindnesse and respect you have shown to our Commissioners, and your high esteem of them in love for the Works sake; Although their presence here would be very comfortable unto us, very steedable to the publicke, and necessar in respect of their great and important particular charges and stations; yet doe we willingly dispense with all, yea nothing shall be too dear unto us, so that this Work be finished with joy, and *Ierusalem made the glory and praise of the whole Earth: Because of the house of the Lord our God, we will seeke her good: For our Brethren and Companions sake, we will now say, Peace be within her Walls, prosperity within her Palaces.*

Edinburgh 4. June 1644.

Subscribed in name of the Generall Assembly of the Kirke of Scotland, *by the moderator of the Assembly, and Clerk.*

J. Bonar *Moderator.*
A. Ker.

The Assemblies Letter to the Kirks in the Netherlands.

Fratres in Domino plurimum colendi,

QVæ anno superiore Ecclesiarum Zelandicarum nomine, missæ sunt ad nos Literæ, ut eas communis totius Ecclesiæ vestræ Belgicæ voluntatis testes fuisse interpretaremur, effecit benevolentia vestra tot tantisq; officiis nobis spectata: quam sententiam nobis confirmârunt ea quæ copiosè clarissimus Eques D. Archibaldus Ionstonus Variſtonus in foro supremo Iudex, à reliquis tum Orainum tum Ecclesiæ hujus Regni Delegatis Londino non ita pridem remissus, in hac ipsa Synodo Nationali de eximio vestro erga nos studio commemoravit: præsertim quanta fide, quàm solicitâ diligentiâ nostram, vel Domini potius nostri Jesu Christi causam, quæ nunc Londini agitur & promoveritis, & promovere etiamnum satagatis. Quo in negotio, ex iis, quorum ab eo recitata audivimus nomina, de propensa reliquorum voluntate & curâ, ut conciliandæ ecclesiarum Britanicarum unionis fœliciter suscepta consilia, vestri ope & operâ prosperum mature sortiantur exitum, minimè obscura fecimus indicia. Sunt hæc tam illustria benevolentiæ vestræ testimonia, & in omnium bonorum oculis adeo per-

perspicua, ut eorum memoriam nulla unquam delere potuerint oblivia. Laboris autem & jam impensi & porrò suscepti ad controversias in Synodo Londinensi suborientes fœliciter expediendas & decidendas nequando pœniteat, ex eo quem per divinam jam benedictionem fructum cepistis, optima quæq; in posterum sperare consentaneum est.

Huic tam honorificæ beneficiorum vestrorum commemorationi à D. Varistonio factæ superv enerunt ex partibus Hiberniæ aquilonaribus Literæ multorum Chirographis subsignatæ; Qui singularis gratiæ in illam Ecclesiam divinitus effusæ, ex quo tempore in societatem fœderis trium unitorum sub Rege nostro Regnorum admissi sunt, mentione facta, hujus inquiunt divinæ benedictiones amplissimum nuper habuimus testimonium, Sanctorũ in Belgio liberalitatem eximiam; qui nobis, ignotis licet & peregrinis, fratres se nostri amantissimos, & malorũ nostrorum sensu tenerrimo compunctos apertè demonstrarunt. Pauculos enim nos gladio superistites, & fame propediem interituros, omnibus extremis circumventos, in ipso articulo sublevarunt: nec tantum oratione ad consolationem composita nobis animos confirmârunt, hortantes ut humiliter incedentes Deum liberatorem expectemus, qui non nisi ad breve tempus faciem suam à domo Iacob abscondere solet, sed subsidio insuper opulento cùm annonæ, tùm aliarum rerum ad nostrâm in tantis angustiis relaxationem & solatium necessariarum, copiosè nos re-

" *focillârunt. Tantam munificientiam cùm ſupplices à Deo*
" *contendimus, ut ſeptuplam ipſis in ſinum rependat, tum*
" *demiſſè vos etiam atq; etiam rogamus, ut in tanti bene-*
" *ficii agnitione Eccleſiis Belgicis, nobiſcum gratias agatis.*
Hæc illi. In quo quidem officio ſi illis deſimus, in nos pari-
ter & illos graviter peccemus.

Agnoſcimus igitur illuſtriſſimorum & potentiſſimorum Hollandiæ, Zelandiæ, *aliorumq; Ordinum* Belgicorum *tam eximiam beneficentiam: quibus non conniventibus modo & permittentibus, (quod ipſum non vulgare beneficium habendum eſſet) ſed authoribus etiam, modumque & rationem præſcribentibus, exemplo quoque præeuntibus, in ſubſidium fratrum noſtrorum* Hibernenſium *collecta per Eccleſias facta ad ipſos maturè deportata ſit: Agnoſcimus piorum in iiſdem Eccleſiis* Belgicis *tam expromptâ voluntatem & liberalitatem: agnoſcimus tantum beneficium non in ipſos magis fratres noſtros, quàm in illorum perſona in noſmetipſos eſſe collatum: Voſque (fratres Reverendi) obnixè rogatos volumus, ut quemadmodum nos ad omnem grati animi ſignificationem prompti ſemper erimus, ita quâ vobis potiſſimum ratione commodum videbitur illuſtriſſimis & potentiſſimis Ordinibus noſtro nomine gratias agatis: populo autem Chriſtiano curæ veſtræ commiſſo tum publicè univerſo, tum privatim ſingulis, ut occaſione ſuboritâ, demonſtretis quàm honorificè de ipſis ſentiamus, & quanti faciamus tam eximiam benevolentiam & charitatem, quâ*

in Ecclesiarum Hibernicarum consolatione viscera nostra resocillaverunt. Quæ autem vestræ fuerint partes, fratres charissimi, quàm pio studio & labore, quàm assiduâ diligentiâ tantæ charitatis semen in segetem & maturam tandem messem provexeritis, cùm nos libentes agnoscimus, tùm res ipsa loquitur, & fructus opimus abundè testatur. Inprimis autem quod caput est, tantæ gratiæ authorem & largitorem nos unà cum Ecclesiis Hibernicis laudamus & celebramus: comprecantes ut in vos universos, in Ecclesias à Domino vobis commissas, in illustrissimos Belgii vestri Ordines Spiritum suum copiosè effundat, ut quemadmodum in Rep. vestrâ adversus hostem potentissimum defendendâ, & inter tantas bellorum moles indies amplificandâ, in Evangelii luce & veritate incontaminatâ contra inferorum portas in vestris Ecclesiis propugnandâ, atque inde latius propagandâ, immensa Dei vobis excubantis potentia, multiformis sapientia, & eximia beneficentia, per universum terrarum orbem hactenus celebrata est; ita bonis omnibus vos deinceps cumulare pergat idem fons omnis bonitatis, ut fremeutibus religionis et libertatis vestræ hostibus, sapientiæ et optimarum artium juxta ac armorum triumphorumque gloriâ inter nobilissimas gentes Resp. vestra fœderata quotidie magis emineat, Ecclesia sacrorum puritate, et cœlestis veritatis splendore perspicuus refulgeat; eoque prosperè vobis cedant vestra prudentissima et salubberrima consilia, quibus certissimum

ad fœlicitatem publicam compendium vos capessere demonstratis, nec vobis tantum consulitis, sed de vicinis etiam Ecclesiis soliciti, quà operâ, quà consilio opibusque vestris eas sublevatis & confirmatis omnes, & quasi de specula universis prospicientes de periculis imminentibus commonefacitis, & ad ruinam ab hostibus dolosè machinatam maturè præcavendam armatis:

Ergo quod anno superiori, veluti signo dato, Reformatas omnes Ecclesias, missis ex Zelandia *literis commonuistis, ut cum impostores, Iesu nomen impudenter ementiti, cæterique Antichristi satellites, quo securiùs in populum erroribus Pontificiis fascinatum grassari, & puriores Christi Ecclesias funditus extirpare queant, arctissimâ conjuratione sociati ad impia consilia patranda sese accinxerunt; Ita Ecclesiæ quoque Reformatæ sine mora consilia in medium alacriter conferant, & animos ac vires conjungant, ut perniciem sibi omnibus intentatam in hostium capita retorqueant: ni fecerint, tam pudendæ ignaviæ excusatione apud posteritatem carituri, consilium non minùs prudens & fidum, quam fœlix & salutare inventer & tum agnovimus & nunc ipso etiam eventu comprobamus.*

Principio autem ad hoc consequendum necessarium videtur, ut sine morâ convolemus omnes ad Deum nostrum clementissimum, qui postquam Ecclesiarum Reformatarum mores minimè reformatos multis annis longanimitate suâ pertulisset, ferulam primùm, mox etiam gladium vibra-

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tum interminatus, tandem rubentem & madidum suorumque sanguine calentem & spumantem per regiones plurimas jam diu circumtulit; in nos denique reliquos nunc intentat, nisi maturè respuerimus, & de domo ipsius amplius purgandâ, de gratiâ Domini nostri Iesu Christi pluris faciendâ, de cultu Dei ipsiusque institutis religiosiùs habendis, de Sabbatho ejus sanctificando, à quo nimium oculos nostros avertimus, et de moribus ad pietatis normam componendis magis serio quàm hactenus à nobis factum est, nobiscum statuentes cum populo Dei sub Nehemia, Iosia, reliquisque piis Gubernatoribus, religioso fœdere percusso, tanquam firmissimo vinculo Deo obstricti, nos inter nos arctius adversus hostes univerimus, ut avertat Deus jam fumantem et capitibus nostris imminentem iram, quam peccata nostra plurima et maxima adversus nos provocârunt et accenderunt.

Non tantum nobis deferimus; nondum eos renovato cum Deo fœdere, et votis nuncupatis dignos edidimus fructûs, ut nostrum exemplum vobis proponere libeat: Quod tamen experti sumus, de Dei erga nos gratiâ, quod gratitudo erga Deum, quod gloria ipsius à nobis flagitat, celare non audemus. Quæcunque nostra malè merita sunt in conspectu Dei et hominum; certè ex quo die nos de religioso fœdere cum Deo et inter nos ineundo cogitavimus, à portis inferorum revocari, et res nostræ omnes in Deum no-

nostrum necessariò conjectæ melium habere cæperunt, et salutiore hactenus successu processerunt: Quodsi de fœderis hujusmodi religiosâ societate rotundâ quod rerum vestrarum et Religionis in Britannia nostra ex fœdere nuper inito perpurgandæ et stabiliendæ commodo fieri possit) vestræ prudentiæ visum fuerit cogitare, et ex consilio eorum quorum interest statuere, ac cum aliis Reformatis Ecclesiis agere (pro eâ quâ apud omnes valetis gratiâ) ut eandem vobiscum ineant rationem, non dubium est, per Domini ac Dei nostri benignissimi Iesu Christi in Ecclesias suas gratiam, fore, ut non modo, quod certissimum adversus impendentia mala perfugium anno superiore missis ex Zelandia literis denunciastis, Ecclesiæ Reformatæ arctioris societatis vinculo inter se unitæ ad hostium conatus impetusque frangendos corroborentur et confirmentur; sed disjecti etiam lapides Domus Dei per Germaniam ex rudere et cineribus redivivi recolligantur, ac glorioſum Domini nostri Templum ibidem instauretur: et purioris Religionis Professores in istis Ecclesiis, per resipiscentiam ad eum qui percussit eos, reversi, et quod nullis caneſcat sæculis fœdere, Domino nobiscum coadunati, malis, sub quorum pondere tot annos gemiscunt, tandem subleventur. Qui dies longè optatissimus si per Dei gratiam semel illuxerit; de consiliorum communione inter Reformatarum Ecclesiarum Synodos per Legatos et Literas conciliandâ iniri possit ratio, per quam Ecclesiæ hostes compescantur, hæreses op-

opprimantur, & schismata resarciantur, pax cum Deo & inter Ecclesias firma conservetur, & gloriosum Dei opus in Evangelio per orbem terrarum propagando, & Antichristi regno abolendo promoveatur. Quod ut optandum, et sperandum, piis et prudentibus vestris meditationibus, ut bonum semen fœcundissimo solo commendamus.

Edinburgi, 4. Iunii 1644.

Vestræ Dignitati & Fraternitati addictissimi, Pastores & Seniores Nationalis Synodi Scoticanæ, & nostro omnium nomine ac mandato

IA. BONAR *Moderator.*

DIRECT.

Ecclesiis Dei quæ sunt in unitis Hollandiæ, Zelandiæ *aliisque fœderati* Belgii *Provinciis.*

Ordinance concerning Bursars.

THe Assembly understanding that the overture for maintaining Bursars, in the Assembly holden in the yeare 1641. upon the 7 of Auguſt, Seſſ. 15. is never yet put in practice: Do therefore Ordain Presbyteries to put the same in practice with all diligence, and to make account thereof to the next Assembly.

Ordinance for up-lifting and imploying Penalties contained in Acts of Parliament, upon pious uses.

THe Assembly understanding that the executing of some laudable Acts of Parliament, made against Non-Communicants and Excommunicate persons, and of diveis other Acts containing pecuniall pains for restraining of Vice, and advancing Piety, is much neglected by the slowneſse of Presbyteries and Ministers, in seeking Execution thereof: Therefore ordains Presbyteries and Ministers *respectivè*, to be diligent hereafter by all means, in prosecuting full and exact Execution of all such Acts of Parliament, for lifting the said Penalties contained in the same, and for faithfull imployment thereof, upon pious uses, and that every Presbytery report their diligence herein yearly to Generall Assemblies.

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An overture concerning Promises of Marriage made by Minors, to those with whom they have committed Fornication.

FOrsameikle as it is found by experience, that some young men being put to Colledges by their wel-affected Parents, that they may be instructed in the knowledge of Arts and Sciences, to the intent they may be more able for publicke Imployments in the Ecclesiastick and Civill state, that the said Children hes committed fornication: And the Woman and her friends hes seduced the foresaid Schollers being minors, to make promise of Marriage to the party with whom they have committed Fornication; And thereupon intends to get the benefite of Marriage with the said young men, not only without the consent of their Parents, but to their great griefe, and to the great appearance of the ruine and overthrow of their estate: Which may be the case of Noblemen and Gentlemens children, as well as of these of other estates and degrees within the Kingdome. Wherefore if the Assembly thinke it expedient, it would be declared that all such promises be made null and of none effect, especially where the maker of the promise is Minor, and not willing to observe the famine, because his Parents will not consent, but oppose and contradict, threatning to make him lose not only his favour, but both blessing and birth-right. This Ordinance shall not only be very expedient for many good civill causes, but is very consonant and agreeable to the Word of God, and will be very comfortable to many Godly Parents, who otherwise may be disappointed

pointed of their pious intentions, and have the comfort they expected, turned to an heavy and grievous crosse.

The Generall Assembly thinks it convenient at this time, to delay any determination in the matter above-written untill the next Assembly, That in the meane time every Presbyterie may take the same to their serious consideration, and report their judgements to the Assembly.

Act concerning dissenting voices in Presbyteries and Synods.

THe Assembly thinkes it necessar, if any Member of Presbyteries or Synods shall finde in matters depending before them, that the Moderator shall refuse to put any thing of Importance to voices; Or if they finde any thing carried by plurality of voices to any determination which they conceive to be contrary to the Word of God, the Acts of Assembly, or to the received order of this Kirk: That in either of these cases they urge their dissent to be marked in the Register: And if that be refused, that they protest as they would desire to be free of common censure with the rest: And the Assembly declares the dissenters to be censurable, if their dissent shall be found otherwise nor they conceived.

Act

Act concerning the Election of a Moderator in Provinciall Assemblies.

THe Generall Assembly understanding that some Provinciall Assemblies in choosing their Moderator, tye themselves to these Persons who have been before named & designed in particular Presbyteries, which is against the liberty of the Provinciall Assembly: Therefore discharges Presbyteries to make any such nomination hereafter; And ordain Provincials in their meeting, to elect their Moderator, and to make their own List for that effect without any such prælimitation.

Act for keeping of the Fast by the Congregations in the Towne where the Assembly holds.

THe Assembly judge it most necessar and comely, seeing the first day of the meeting of Generall Assemblies, is by the laudable practice of this Kirk a day of Fasting and Humiliation, for craving the Lords blessing to that Meeting: That not only the Members of the Assembly, but that all the Congregations also of the Town where the Assembly holds be so exercised: And that publick worship be in all the Kirks thereof that day for that effect.

THe Generall Assembly appoints the meeting of the next Assembly, to be upon the last Thursday of May, in the year 1645.

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FINIS.

K. P.P. Londin.

The Weekly Account.

Num. 58.
Octob. 9.

Containing,

Certain Speciall and Remarkable PASSAGES from both Houses of PARLIAMENT; And Collections of severall Advertisements; From ——

{ The Lord Generall. / The E. of Manchester. / Sir *William Waller.* } { Sir *John Meldrum.* / Sir *VVil. Brereton.* / Sir *Th. Middleton.* } { Coll. *Dalbier.* / Coll. *Rocester.* / The Scots. }

A true Relation of the burning of Oxford, *and many of the Colledges. The taking of of* Winchester House *by Colonel* Massey, *with the number of men that were killed and taken. The tryall of Captain* Cibill *in* Guild Hall, *at the Court Martiall, and one* Francis Pit, *for betraying* Russell Hall. *The further proceedings of Sir* Thomas Middleton, *and* Waler. *The Lord* Generall *and Sir* William Wallers *Letters to the Parliament, informing the particular actions between the Kings forces and theirs, VVith the last news from* Newcastle, *Sir* William Brereton, *and Sir* John Meldrum.

From Wednesday *the* 2d. *of* October, *to* Wednesday *the* 9th. *of the same.* 1644.

London, Printed by *BERNARD ALSOP.*

WEDNESDAY, October 2.



HAt the Rector (before he perusers my Booke half over) may not rashly passe his Censure, that I write this Intelligence upon Reports, or uncertain grounds; I shall in the first place communicate unto you the Copie of a Letter from His Excellencie the Lord Generall: Which was read in the House of Commons, dated at *Portsmouth* the last of *September*, 1644. Wherein he certifies as followeth:

THree dayes since he writ to Sir William *Waller, that Quartermaster Generall* Dalbier, *upon Sir* Williams *summons, should joyn their forces together, and for that purpose he was marching towards him to* Blandford, *that nothing might be wanting on his part, that should hinder any* [illegible] *the Enemy. He also saith, that he had a Partie of Horse* nearly

newly come home commanded by Captain Karmihill, *which assures him that the King and His Armies are still at* Chard, *and* Crookhorn; *himself at* Hinton *at the Lord* Pawlets *house. That His Excellencies Life-guard is come to him from* Barnstable. *And concludes His Letter in these words*; My Lords, *I shall onely leave it to your grave considerations, whether the King advanceth not so fast, as that my Lord of* Manchesters *Forces and mine, may joyn time enough to oppose the Enemy.*

Your Lordships most humble servant;

Essex.

At the same time was also read another Letter from *Sir William Waller*, which for your better satisfaction, I will literally impart unto you.

My Lords,

WE hear the King is not removed from Chard, he calles in the Country, presses men, and yet we cannot learne His Army is increased. A Rendezvous is appointed at Kings Sedgemore in Sommersetshire, on Wednesday next. If my Lord of Manchesters and my Lord Generals forces advance to us, we shall not onely grow upon the King in the West, but keep your Armies on the Enemy, and preserve your Associations. If this be timely done, by Gods assistance, we may most easily bring the miseries of our warre into a narrow room, if not to an end. Some of the Enemies Horse are come to Evill, our Parties meet often, and we have taken divers prisoners. On Friday last, the Enemy killed Major *Clutterbuck*, he was a Religious valiant man: We shall yeild no ground but what we must needs. Collonel *Harry* desires a passe to go to his Country, we leave it to your direction. The Earl of Brainford offers, that if Lieutenant Collonel *Warren* may be set liberty, he will then release Major *Lare*; We intreat the House may be moved in it, and to know their answer as soon as may be. We are my Lords,

Your humble Servants;

William Waller.
Arthur Heslrigge.

THURS-

THURSDAY, October 3.

I Have often made mention of an Ordinance which was passing for the Ordination of Ministers, *prosempore*; which is now perfected and past. By which it is ordained, by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament (after advice had with the Assembly of Divines now convened at Westminster) that during the present Exigencies of the Armies, and of the Navie, and of many Congregations destitute of able and faithfull Ministers of the Gospell, and untill a Government of the Church be formed up to the full power and work of it, and the whole course of Ordination of Ministers in an ordinary way be set up, and setled for the three Kingdomes of England, Scotland, and Ireland. These persons in the Citie of London being Presbyters, *viz.* Doctor *Cornelius Burges* one of the Assessors of the Assembly, Dr. *William Gouge*, Mr. *John Ley*, Mr. *George Walker*, Mr. *Edmond Calamy*, Mr. *Daniel Cawdrey*, Mr. *Stanley Gower*, Mr. *John Conant*, and Mr. *Humphrey Chambers*, Members of the Assembly of Divines, Mr *Henry Roxborough*, Mr. *John Downham*, Mr. *Charles Offspring*, Mr. *Richard Lee*, Mr. *Timothy Dod*, Mr. *James Cranford*, Mr. *Thomas Horton*, Mr. *Thomas Cleudon*, Mr. *Arthur Jackson*, Mr. *Samuel Clerke*, Mr. *Emanuel Brown*, Master *Fulk Bellers*, Master *Francis Roberts*, Master *Leonard Cook*, or any seven of them, the major part being present, shall examine all those which are to be admitted into the Ministery, upon these particulars following; Touching his skill in the Originall Tongues, and that tryall be made by reading the Hebrew and Greek Testaments, and rendring some portion of them into Latine, and whether he hath skill in Logick and Philosophy, what Authors he hath read, and what knowledge he hath to defend the Orthodoxe Religion contained in them: That he shall frame a discourse in Latine upon a common place or controversie in Divinity, as shall be assigned him, and maintain a dispute thereon, and shall preach before the people or Ministers appointed to ordaine, or some of them.

After he is thus approved, he is to preach three severall dayes in

the Church where he is to serve, that they may have triall of his gifts, and may know his life and conversation.

FRIDAY, Octob. 4.

IT appears by a Letter from Sir *William Waller*, and Sir *Arthur Hesilrige*, before recited; That Colonel *Harry* the Renegado, desired a Pasle to travell into his own Country, *viz.* Scotland, where he intended not to stay, but to take Shipping and go beyond Sea; But it appears by the sequell, that his entertainment was so small, and his person so much slighted in the Kings Army, especially because he refused to go to Masse, without which they hold any man incapable of preferment which hath been on this side, that he had not patience to continue there till Sir *William Waller* had received directions from the Parliament, and therefore taking the advantage of an opportunity, he came in to Sir *William Waller*, with an intention to cast himself upon the mercy and clemencie of the Parliament, and was by him sent up to the Committee of both Kingdomes, before whom he hath been examined, and confesseth his Error. And as some intelligible Gentlemen do affirm, that the best way to confirm a weak staggering Protestant, is to go to Rome, where they may behold the odious practises and unparaleld wickednesse exercised there, and maintained and allowed by the supporters of the Catholike cause. So hath the breach of faith, treacherous practises, Jesuiticall plots, and treasonable designes of those Counsels which do manage the designe against the Parliament (during the time of his residence in that Army) fully convince him of the desperate designe they have against the Kingdome, and the true Protestant Religion established therein, and therefore is joyfull that he is gotten away from having any further hand either in the Counsels or practises of the adverse partie.

Some part of the five Regiments that are to march out of the City, are already marched forth towards Kensington, and Hammersmith, the rest being following after, together with their Artillery, and are forthwith to advance to Redding, to joyn with the Earl of Manchester, who hath sent two thousand of his foot from thence already, to joyn with Sir *William Waller*, in stopping or persuing the Kings forces, for we hear they rather retreat Westwards then advance forwards.

The Letters this week from the Leaguer before Newcastle do certifie, that the besiegers have plaid upon the Town with their Ordnance for divers dayes together, which have done such gallant execution, that they have battered many houses in the Town, and thorow want, and feare, there do daily come from the Enemy (though with difficulty) many of the Inhabitants. That divers Mines are compleated, and were agreed to be sprung, at which

time

time the beſiegers intend to fall on with ſuch reſolution (having lately received a ſupply of powder and Ammunition) that from what I can gather by the ſaid Letters, we hope to give you plenary ſatisfaction concerning the gaining that Town (God willing) before you have perused many more Accompts.

We heare that a Partee of the Newark forces, have gotten the poſſeſſion of Croyland in the County of Lincoln, which may preve more prejudiciall then beneficiall to them in a ſhort time, for had it been ſerviceable, it had been better ſecured for the King and Parliament: And ſince the five hundred horſe of the Earl of Manchesters are joyned with Colonel *Rossiter*, we underſtand that he hath lighted on ſome of the Newarkers, and hath taken a courſe not onely to preſerve the Country, but ſtraighten their forces of getting proviſion.

Sir *Williams Brereton* and Sir *John Meldrums* forces, have blockt up the Enemies powers in the City of Cheſter, in two ſeverall places, and yet the Siege at Liverpoole is maintained.

The Siege at Banbury, Dunnington Caſtle, and Baſing Houſe, are not onlycontinued, but by the valiant attempts of our forces, and the Kings retreating backe when they expected relief, hath put them into a Delemma.

As for Sir *Thomas Middleton*, we heare he goes on with his worke in Wales proſperouſly, his forces have lately viſited Clun, and fell almoſt as farre as Knighton in the County of Radnor, and in their paſſage, they took one Maſter *Powell* and divers others, which had been active for the King, the reſt of the Gentry of the Country ſhewing themſelves for the Parliament.

Ordered by the houſe of Commons, that a Committee ſhould meet in the Court of Wards; to conſider and treat upon the receipts of Cuſtomes, of which Committee was Mr. *Prideaux*, Sir *Henry Vane* Senior, and above twenty more of the Houſe of Commons.

SATURDAY. Octob 5.

THis day we received Intelligence from Henley upon Thames, that a Partee of Wallingford Forces conſiſting of ſome ſixe or ſeven and thirtie (being all the Horſe that they have in that Gariſon) came to Henley, pretending to meet with ſome of the Parliaments forces, which (as they ſaid) they had information were there at that preſent; But when they ſaw the Coaſt clear, they fell to their old trade of plundering, and comming to the Widdow *Lewis* houſe, they took from her all the cloth ſhe had in her ſhop, which amounted to the value of one hundred pound and better, and returned preſently, not daring to ſtay do any more miſchief.

The five Regiments of the City, are peremptorily Ordered to advance towards Sir *William VValler*, for which purpose every particular person that is to go forth, was summoned by an Order from the Committee of the Militia, as followeth:

YOu are required by the Committee for the Militia *of the Citie of* London, *either in your own person, or some other able man fit for warre, compleatly armed, to be at the usuall place of Rendezvous, the 7th. of this instant, as you will answer the contrary, upon paine of Fine, Imprisonment, or expulsion out of the Line of Communication, or other punishment appointed by Ordinances of Parliament.*

Guild Hall, London
2. Octob. 1644.

Adam Banks,
Clerk of the said Committee.

Tuesday the 8 instant, the Court Martiall is to sit in Guild-hall London, upon the tryall of the Master Keeper of the Poultrey Compter, concerning the escape of Collonel *Smith*, of whose retaking I acquainted you with the last VVeek.

And on Thursday next, the two Irish Rebels which made an Escape out of the Tower, are to be tried by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, at the Sessions in the Old Bayley; where will appear a gallant Jury, some of them being the principall men in the City, under the degree of an Alderman.

MVNDAY. Octob. 7.

IT was this day certified, that on Friday last a Partee of the Kings horse appeared near Dorchester, whereupon a gallant Partee of Sir *VVilliam VVallers* Horse drew out, and faced them, intending to have given them battle, which the Enemy perceiving, sent out a few Scouts, made a flourish as if they intended something, and valiantly fled away.

It was also certified, that Collonel *Massey* having placed a Garrison in Monmouth, a Partee of the Earl of VVorcesters Popish Garison at Ragland Castle, were comming to possesse themselves of

VVinchester

VVinesher House, between Ragland and Monmouth, where they thought to fortifie themselves, but our forces having notice thereof, issued forth of Monmouth, and getting between the Enemy and Ragland, killed twenty, and took about fifty prisoners, and put the rest to flight.

From Hull they write, that there was a Ship comming towards Scarborough (as it was thought) with provision and Ammunition for the Enemy, which was set upon by one of the Parliaments Ships, but night approaching, before the dispute was ended, the Enemies Ship endeavoured to take advantage thereof, and to steale away, and in her flight came within the view of two other Ships, (which taking for the Parliaments) she run her self a shore in a small Creek within the Parliaments power, and so the men fled away by land; leaving the Ship, goods, and Ammunition behinde them.

There is an Ordinance which was read, and committed by the House of Commons, for the sale of the Kings plate in the Tower, which he sent heretofore to Amsterdam, to put it into ready mony, with an intent to imploy the money in providing Men and Arms to fight against the Parliament, but the Designe being discovered and prevented; It is now to be sold, and the Moneys thereby raised, are to be disbursed for the maintainance of Abingdon and some other Garrisons.

The Garison of Portsmouth is to be made a thousand men compleat, and the County of Hampshire is to set forth a hundred horse to be assistant to them. Provision is to be made to inable the Militia to raise a constant pay for three moneths, and therefore an Ordinance is passed for the raising of twenty thousand pound for three moneths out of the Excise, for setling a constant pay for the City Regiments that are to go out; as also, another Ordinance for the continuall supply of the Lord Generals Army; and that His Majesties Army marching this way, they may be inabled to advance with all speed.

The valiant Collonel *Sandys* lyes still close before Pomfract Castle, and we doubt not but he will very suddainly render a good accompt of that place.

TYES.

TUESDAY, October, 8.

THis day hath produced such a remarkable passage, that while it is fresh in my memory, I cannot but present it to your view; which is this. The 8. day of this instant October, (being this present) the Anti-Parliament at Oxford were appointed to convene there again, and in the very moment of time where they were appointed to meet, wee received intelligence from good hands, that the City of Oxford was on fire and that in their estimation at least halfe the City, and many of the most famousest Colledges were burnt down to the ground but by what means (whether causality or not) I cannot yet inform you, neither will I make any application thereof, but certainly a supream providence is in it, and did but an infidell take notice in what an extraordinary way God hath often shewed himselfe in preserving us, and destroying the Councells and devices of our adversaries hee would become a Proselite.

The chiefe businesse of the House was concerning the releif of Ireland, the Associating of some particular Counties and other private debates, and it is ordered that to morrow they shall goe on in perfecting the propositions to be sent to the Lord Generall to present to his Majesty.

This afternoon the Noble Earle of Denby and most of the Commissioners for Martiall law sate in Guild-Hall London. There was called to the barre one Captain *Ibill* which was charged with some compliancy with the enemy, and after his Examination was read, hee was demanded what he could say for himself, who denying any matter in fact, was commanded to withdraw, and one *Francis Pit* called to the Barre; his Charge was the betraying of Russell Hall in the County of Strafford, and holding correspondency with the Enemy, by Letters and otherwise, for that purpose, and for their censures and other proceedings herein, I shall acquaint you with, as things shall be brought to that perfection.

FINIS.

A

DECLARATION

AGAINST

Anabaptists:

To stop the Prosecution so their Errours, falsly pretended to be a Vindication of the Royall Commission of KING JESUS, as they call it.

Briefly and fully answering all their Allegations, and clearly proving the Anabaptisticall Doctrine to be against the glory of God, the honour of Christ and his Church, against the Covenant of grace, and against the word of God, and the priviledges of the Church made over to them by promise; And also against the Solemne League and Covenant of the three Kingdomes.

In Answer to a book, by *Francis Cornwall* presented to the house of Commons, on *Friday* last, for which he is committed.

Ephes. 4. 4,5. *There is one Body, one Spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your Calling, One Lord, one Faith, one Baptisme.*

Rom. 16. 17,18. *Now I beseech you brethren, marke them which cause divisions, and offences, contrary to the doctrine which yee have learned, and avoid them. For they that are such serve not our Lord Jesus, but their own belly, and by good words, and faire speeches, deceive the hearts of the simple.*

Octob. 9 *Imprimatur*, Ja: Cranford.

London Printed for R. W. 1644.

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

A DECLARATION

againſt *Anabaptiſts*, to ſtop the proſecution of their errours, falſly pretended to be a vindication of the Royall Commiſsion of KING JESUS, as they call it.

I Shall neither ſpend much time, nor waſt much Paper, in the anſwering of a Caſe ſo plaine: I ſhall paſſe by the circumſtances, and only gather what you, Maſter *Francis Cornwall* doth ſay for your ſelfe, and anſwer that breefly and fully.

1. You Argue thus: *That which God hath joyned together no man ought to ſeperate: But Faith and Baptiſme (or more properly dipping) God hath joyned together: Therefore faith and Baptiſme (or dipping, as the originall renders it) no man ought to ſeperate.*

The Major is true Sir, but that helps you nothing, for I ſhall prove your Minor, and your Argument to be both falſe.

1. That God hath not inſeperably joyned Faith, and Baptiſme together is very evident, and there is proofe enough for it, the Apoſtles were ſent to teach and Baptize all Nations, *Matth.*28.19. but many have after fallen away and periſhed in unbeliefe. And on the contrary, many have gone to heaven that were never baptized, *for we are all the Children of God by faith in Chriſt Jeſus*, Gal.3.26. And though a man be baptized, yet *he that believeth not ſhall be damned*, Mar. 16.16. All Chriſtians are not Saints, and no doubt there are many Saints that were never made Chriſtians.

2. So that now you see this proves no Argument, and moreover were this granted, then by the same Argument none ought to be baptized untill they were able to cast out Devils, and speake with new tongues, for those were the signes which Christ declared should follow them that believe, *Mar.* 16.17. And if they object and say that the working of miracles are ceased: then may I very well answer, that for mens spirits to discerne, and know who are believers, and who not, that is also ceased.

In the next place, you quote the decree of Pope *Innocentius* the third, and the decree of *Gregory*, *Lib.*3. *Tit.*42. *C.*3. out of Doctor *Willets Synopsis*, brought in by him to prove the lawfulnesse of the baptizing of Infants now, as well as circumcising Infants under the Judaicall Law, which you reprove and call the Doctrine of Antichrist.

But let me tel you doctor *Willet* doth alledge better testimony then that, in the very same place; namely that children of beleevers are to be baptized. 1. Because they belong unto the Covenant, as it is, *Gen.*17.7. I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed. 2. Because they are called holy. 1*Cor.*7.14. Againe 3. Because they are redeemed by the blood of Christ, who died for all the children of God, *John* 11.52. And to them belong the Kingdom of God, *Mar.*10.4. And 4. Lastly it is proved by the practise of the Apostles, who baptized whole families, with all persons that thereunto belonged, *Act.*16.33. and children are of the family, to this is added the testimony of divers learned men, besides the forementioned, as *Augustine*, *Lib.*5. *Cont. Pelag. Hypognostic. Gregory Nazianzen*, *Orat.*3. *in sanct. lavac.* The confession of *Helvetia*, *Sect.* 13. *pag.* 397. confession of *Bohemia*, *pag.*399. And in the *English* confession Article 9. *pag.* 402. *No not babes are not to be restrained* (from Baptisme) *because they pertaine to the people of God.*

Now for the Covenant in respect of the seales of circumcision, and of Baptisme, you and the rest of your opinions are mistaken in the maine thing of all, for the Covenant which was made to *Abraham*, of which the circumcising of the flesh was an outward Seale: its an everlasting Covenant. *Gen.*17.13. and circumcision being taken away, because Christ is come himself (the grace of God being the inward seale, as *Calvin* saith) and baptisme a perpetuall supply thereof: *Chrisistom*, *hom.*39. in *Gen.*

But in regard of the Protestation you have taken, you say you oppose the baptizing of infants; and your first reason is, *because there was a precept from God to enjoyne circumcision.* Gen 17.11. *and an example*, *Gen.*24.4. *But neither precept nor example in Scripture, for baptizing of Infants.*

To answer this in the first place, I will give you a precept out of the Scripture where all both young and old are to bee baptized, and that is

All.

*Act.*2.38,39. *Be baptized every one of you* (ſaith *Peter* there) and let it be done *in the name of Jeſus Chriſt*, old and young, all were to be baptized, and if they did repent and were baptized, then (ſaith he) *they ſhall receive the gift of the holy Ghoſt*, and to encourage them (and in them us alſo) to baptize infants; he tells them, *the promiſe is unto you, and to your children*; yea, *and to the children of thoſe that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God ſhall call*: And for that which you ſpeake of dipping, or ſprinkling it much matters not, ſo there be the external element, which is water, *Acts* 10. 47. And there is likewiſe an example, *Acts* 2. In the infancy of the Church, there were added to the Church in one day three thouſand ſouls, which received the outward Seale of Baptiſme, *ver.*41. and all that believed were together, and had all things common, *ver.*44. which was after that the Apoſtle had declared to them, that the promiſe was to them, and their children, *ver.*39. and therefore we muſt needs thinke that the children pertooke of the ſame priviledges with them.

Your ſecond reaſon is becauſe that there was *a prefixt day for circumciſion, to wit the eight*, Gen.17.12. but no day appointed when it ſhall be dipped (or ſprinkled.)

To which I anſwer; That the place you mention, Gen. 17. 12. is a command, that *every ſon of eight dayes old ſhall be circumciſed*, not that the command is abſolute for the eight day: For *all the people that were borne in the wilderneſſe, by the way as they came forth out of Egypt, them they had not circumciſed*, untill afterwards, Joſh. 5. 5. when neceſſity urged Circumciſion muſt be deferred, as the eating of the Paſſeover might bee put off, Numb. 9. 10.

But thirdly, you ſay, That *there was a penalty impoſed* on the uncircumciſed man-childe, Gen. 17. 14. *but not on thoſe that are not baptized, becauſe Election, and not Baptiſme*, ſaveth the infant, Rom.9.11.12.

To which I anſwer; That for the eight day there ſpoken of, it is uſed onely in the Septuagint, it is not in the Hebrew: and for the reſt, the words are, *Qui non circumciderit*, he which ſhall not circumciſe, &c. So reades the Originall, the Calde Paraphraſt, *Junius*, &c. which ſheweth, that it muſt be underſtood of them that are *adulti*, of yeares of diſcretion, not of infants. And for the puniſhment, What is it? Some take it for corporall death, ſome for the extraordinary ſhortening of their dayes, ſome for excommunication; and laſtly, others take it for the cutting off from the ſociety of Gods people now, and the fellowſhip of the Saints hereafter, for contemning Gods Ordinance of Circumciſion: And thus the Fathers of the Hebrews, having exhorted them to faith and a good conſcience, and to be baptized, *Heb.*12.22. he told them, that if *he that deſpiſed Moſes Law, died without mercy — of how much ſorer puniſh-*

ment shall he then be thought worthy of, who contemning the Ordinance of God, whether Baptisme, or other, *hath troden under foot the Son of God, and counted the blood of the Covenant an unholy thing, and hath done despight unto the Spirit of Grace*? I would have you that contemne Baptisme to consider this well: And as for infants, if they be not baptized, (as formerly those that were not circumcised) it is the parents fault for omitting it, not the infants, except the childe be come to discretion, as may appeare in the example of *Moses*, whom the Lord punished, and not the childe, for the neglecting of the Sacrament, *Exod.*4.24.

II. To proceed: You argue thus: *That which is not of faith is a sin to the Church that doth it. But the baptizing of the infants of beleevers (as it is used) is not of faith. Ergo a sin.*

Now the Clause which you bring in (*as it is now used*) you might have told us what circumstances you meane: I doubt not, but something will appeare superstitious in it, as the Crosse in Baptisme, which is now almost left; and some other Ceremonies may be excepted against; so that I shall onely prove the baptizing of beleevers children to be of faith, in answer to this Argument; as may appear by that in the 19. of the *Act.* where *Paul* tells the Disciples which he found at Ephesus, *That John Baptized, saying to the people, that they should beleeve on him that should come after him, that is on Christ Jesus, Acts* 19. 4. This was a command which he gave to them; and when they were baptized, they were very ignorant, for they had not learned to know whether there were an holy Ghost or not, *vers.* 2. though afterwards *Paul* laid his hands on them, to declare, that they were baptized in the Name of the Lord Jesus, and they received the holy Ghost, *vers.* 6. And the children of beleeving parents are cleane by being so; and being of the holy seed, 1 *Cor.* 7. 14. have right to (Baptisme) the Ordinance of God thereby, *Acts* 16.33.

But to answer your Reasons, as you call them, which are very unreasonable ones, wherein I will be very briefe.

1. You say, That *Baptisme of infants of beleevers, puts them into a state of grace, and remission of sins before calling*, when as your owne testimony is against you, and proves that Baptisme hath no such prerogative, for it is the Election of *Gods owne purpose and grace before the world began, that puts us into a state of Grace*, which is manifested unto, and conferred upon some before Baptisme, *Act.* 8.36,37. and upon others after Baptisme, *Act.* 19. 4. Baptisme being the onely outward seale of the Church, and the Grace of Gods Spirit the inward seal, as is before proved.

2. That it constitutes them visible members of the Congregation, is true, and those places alledged, 1 *Pet.* 2. 9. *Rom.* 1. 6, 7. and 1 *Cor.* 1. 2. do not keep out the unbeleeving husbands of beleeving wives, nor the unbeleeving

leeving wives of beleeving husbands, nor their children from the Sacraments; for if they did, those children would be uncleane indeed; but now are they holy, 1 *Cor.*7.14.

3. 4. Your third Reason is answered in the first, because Baptisme is but the outward seale; and your fourth Reason is very absurd: for I for my part doubt not, but there will be care taken for the liberty of tender consciences, so far as Gods word will beare and assist; that to be without order, is against *Pauls* rule; and where the powers ordained by God, appoint orders according to Gods word, I am sure that *Paul* saith, to resist such power, is to resist the Ordinance of God, *Rom.*13.1,2.

5. Your next Reason is answered by what hath been said already: Namely, that the Covenant of grace is the inward seale of Gods Elect, Baptisme the outward seale of the visible Church, whose members are not all elected, nor shall all be saved; for many fall away, and make a mock of Christ, *Heb.*6.6. But those who have the inward seale, that are baptized into Christ, whether Jew or Gentile, bond or free, they are heires of heaven, according to the promise, *Gal.*3.27,28,29.

6. 7. 8. For your next Reason, it doth not at all follow; for none is so unwise to think that grace is entailed to generation, but regeneration; neither doth it follow that all that are baptized are saved, the contrary being already proved. And God is able as well to give to infants an habit of faith, so far as to make them capable of ascending to heaven if they die, as well as men and women: Therefore Christ tells us, that *to such belong the Kingdome of God*, *Mat.*19.14.

9. 10. Your former Reasons proving thus false; you see your discovery is nothing, but I have discovered your folly in these pretences: I have also proved that baptizing of infants is not against the Commission of Christ, and how members of the Church, as discipled in Baptisme, I shal shew by and by.

11. 12. 13. 14. Your next reason is all one with the sixt, and your twelfth with the tenth, so that I passe to your thirteenth reason, where you falsly draw these conclusions: either first, that all baptized persons are saved, or Secondly, that some being in the state of grace, may fall away afterwards, neither of which follow, because baptisme doth not conferre grace, as is already proved, which is your fourteenth conclusion.

15. That you say baptizing of infants opposeth the Kingly, and propheticall office of Christ in faith and order, and to prove that, you alledge, *Matth.*16.15. to make good that you say, that Christ requireth that every person that is baptized be a beleever: I answer, it is true Christ requires it, and before God the unbelievers have no right to those Ordinances, nor is it effectuall to them whilest they are so, yet because men cannot distinguish

guish believers from unbelievers, therefore as *Matthew* hath it, *Mat.* 28. 19. Jesus sent his Apostles, and bade them, *go ye* (saith he) *and teach all nations*, or as you quoting the place, render *disciple the nations*, or *make disciples*; and how must that be done? baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost: well, and when they are made, what must be done then? teach them, &c. here is no opposition of this order you see.

III. In the next place you Argue thus: *That consequence which is upheld by the traditions of men, is destructive to the Nationall Covenant of* England, *and* Scotland, *raised by an Ordinance of Parliament. But baptizing of Infants is so held, Ergo distructive to the Nationall Covenant.*

As you have abused the Scripture to your one interpretation contrary to all judicious men; so do you go about to abuse the Covenant of the three Kingdoms: first, the Covenant bindes to joyne with the Scots in the baptizing of infants, which you would not have done: 2. It bindes to joyne in reforming what is amisse in the manner of baptizing, you would take the Ordinance quite away: 3. It bindes to extirpate Schisme, and whatsoever is contrary to sound doctrine, which you would bring in: 4. You are bound to preserve the liberties of the Kingdom; you would have the holy seed cast out and loose those priviledges, which Christ hath purchased for them. 5. You are bound to discover such as are ill instruments, by hindring the reformation of Religion, or making faction, and to bring them to publique tryall to receive condigne punishment, and you your self are such a one: 6. You are bound in your calling to labour for the peace of the Kingdom, and you go about to disturb it, and give occasion to honest men, that desire some liberty of conscience in lawfull things to be worse thought on for you, and so whereas you should be a help to them, you are an hurt and a scandall: and therefore examine your self well, and try your self by the Scripture, and by the Covenant, and Con it over, and over again, till you know what it is to make such a Covenant in the presence of Almighty God the searcher of all hearts, protesting that you did it with a true intention to performe the same, as you shal answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall bee discloſed; oh how dangerous a thing it is to make a seame, and a rent in the Church of Christ, when the worke is a doing by such wise master builders, and pray to God again, and again, most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his holy spirit to do all things to his glorie, and to blesse their desires, and proceedings with such successe as may be deliverance and safety to his people, and incouragement to other Christian Churches, groaning under, or in danger of the yoke of Antichristian Tyranny, to joyne in the same, or like Association and Covenant, to the glory of God, the inlargement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the peace and tranquility of Christian Kingdoms, and Common wealths.

FINIS.

10

AN

ORDINANCE

OF THE

Lords and Commons

Assembled in

PARLIAMENT,

For the maintaining of the Forces of the seven associated Counties under the Command of EDWARD Earl of MANCHESTER.

By a Weekly payment upon the said associated Counties; to begin the first day of September, and to continue for foure Moneths next ensuing.

ORdered by the Commons in Parliament, That this Ordinance be forthwith printed & published.

H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

LONDON: Printed for *Edward Husbands.*
October 10. 1644.

26 September, 1644.



Whereas the Counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Lincoln, and other Counties with them Associated, out of their loyall respect to his Majestie, their pious disposition to the peace and happinesse of this Kingdome; in obedience to the Orders of Parliament, have raised and maintained to the number of Fourteen thousand Horse, Foot, and Dragoones, or thereabouts, and with them have done many great services against the Common Enemie, tending much to the safetie of the Kingdome; And have also bought many Armes and Ammunition, and must buy more, whereby to furnish themselves with a traine of Artillerie; and have been, and must be at great charges in maintaining and recruiting the said Forces, and in keeping severall Garrisons, making and erecting of Fortifications, Magazines, Courts of Guards, and other things requisite and necessary for the defence and safetie of the said association against the incursions of the Enemie: By all which meanes the said Association is become much indebted, and without the speedy raising of large and sufficient

siderable sums of money proportionable to their vast expences, cannot long subsist in a condition to keep themselves from ruine, and so advance the publique safetie. It is thereupon Ordained by the Lords & Commons in Parliament assembled, and by authoritie of the same, That for the intents & purposes aforesaid, the severall Weekly sums of money hereafter in this Ordinance mentioned, shall be charged, rated, taxed and levied upon the severall Counties, according to the proportions herein expressed; The same to be paid in weekly to the severall Collectors, & by them to the Treasurer or Treasurers appointed by this Ordinance for the receiving hereof. That is to say,

Upon the County of Essex, the Weekly sum of one thousand six hundred eighty seven pounds ten shillings.

Upon the County of Suffolk, the weekly sum of one thousand eight hundred seventy five pounds.

Upon the County of Norfolk and City of Norwich, the weekly sum of one thousand eight hundred seventy five pounds.

Upon the County of Hertford, the weekly sum of six hundred seventy five pounds.

Upon the County of Cambridge, the week-

ly sum of five hundred sixty two pounds ten shillings.

Upon the County of Huntington, the Weekly sum of three hundred and thirty pounds.

Upon the County of Lincolne and City of Lincoln, the Weekly sum of one thousand two hundred eighteen pounds sixteen shillings.

Upon the Isle of Ely, the Weekly sum of two hundred twenty one pounds five shillings.

And the said Weekly Payments are to begin from the first day of September, in the year of our Lord 1644. and so to continue Weekly for four moneths next ensuing from the said first of September.

And be it further ordained, that every person or persons that were to be assessed or taxed by any former Ordinance of Parliament, shall be assessed and taxed by this Ordinance; and shall be liable to as great forfeitures & penalties for not paying of the sum or sums to be assessed, as they should have been, if the same had been assessed by vertue of the last Ordinance for the Weekly payment for the said Association, made the 20. of September last: And the severall respective Deputy Lieutenants and Committees named and trusted within the said Association or any part thereof, by the said recited Ordinance,

to

to take care for the assessing, collecting or levying of any monies, are named & trusted by this Ordinance, and have as full power and authority given by this Ordinance, to nominate and appoint Collectors and Assessors, and to distraine, fine and imprison, or sequester, as they or any of them had by vertue of the said recited Ordinance, in all or any part of the said associated Counties.

And the severall Collectors shall pay the severall sums by them collected, at the place or severall places where the Earl of Manchester and the Committee for the Association attending the said Earl, shall appoint to the Treasurer or Treasurers, to be by them named; which Treasurer or Treasurers are to issue out the monies received for the purposes aforementioned; according to the warrants or directions of the said Earl of Manchester, & of any two of the said Committees for the said Association, which shall be appointed thereunto by the said Earl, and a full Committee consisting of one for every County at the least, and of the Commissary Generall for the time being of the said Earl of Manchester; And that no monies be issued out without order under the hand of the said Earl, such two of the said Committees, and

the said Commissary Generall, nor yet without the privitie of the Whole Committee attending the said Earl.

And the said Lords & Commons doe further ordain, that all monies collected and not disposed of, or to be collected upon the fifth & twentieth part of mens estates, or of the last foure moneths pay; and all the monies or other benefit arising by vertue of any Ordinance for the third part of the Sequestration setled upon the Earl of Manchester, shalbe paid unto the Treasurers appointed as aforesaid, and from thence to issue out again for ẏ intents and purposes aforementioned; and the said Earl and Committee for the said association have thereby power given them to call all Collectors, Treasurers, or others that have or are thought to have any of the said monies in their hands, to an accompt, and to cause the said money in their hands to be paid unto the Treasurers appointed by the former Ordinances.

And if any Collectors, Treasurers, or others shall refuse to accompt or to pay in the monies wherewith they are charged: then the said Earl & committee shal fine them double the sum charged upon them, which if it be not paid within 10 dayes after the sum is set,

and

any notice thereof left at his or their dwelling house: it shalbe lawfull to distrein for the same: & if there be not sufficient distrelle wherewith to satisfie, then the said Earl and Committee may imprison the offender herein, & sequester his estate, untill the money charged & fine set be leavied and paid.

And it is further Ordayned, that four pence in the pound shall be allowed for every sum of money which shall be Collected, and paid to the said Treasurer, whereof two pence shall be for the Collectors, and two pence for the Treasurer: And the said Treasurer shall keep a Regilter book, of the severall sums received and paid by them, and shall render an account thereof, unto the said Earl and Committee, once every moneth at least.

And be it further Ordayned, that three Commissioners hereafter to be nominated and appointed, to reside in the Army, shall take speciall care that they keep constant correspondency with the two Houses of Parliament, and with the Committee of the Members of the Houle of Commons, appointed for the Associated Counties; and that they take such course that no Commander or Officer shall receive any pay, but such as duely attend their charge: And it is desired, that the said Earl of Manchester do admit to his Counsell for the purposes aforesaid, the said Commissioners.

residing in his Army, to advise with them, and arme them with power to view and examine the Musters of the said Army; and to take such course as shall be thought most fit for the preventing of dead payments, false Musters, free quartering without warrants, Plundering, Seizing of Horses or Armes, or for the avoyding of any other misdemeanor, which may turn to the prejudice of the Common wealth. And that the said Commissioners, shall once in a moneth, certifie the state of the Army, and give an accompt of their proceedings unto the Parliament, or to the aforesaid Committee, for the Associated Counties, and likewise certify what further instructions shalbe agreed upon by the Counsell of Warre, touching the same, and the aforesaid Commissioners shalbe nominated and appointed, by the Committee for the associated Counties sitting at Cambridge, or the major part of them out of their own number.

And be it Lastly Ordained, that the said Earl, Deputy Lieutenants, Committees, collectors, assessors, and every one of them, & every other person, that shall be ayding and assisting to them, or any of them, in doing any thing by vertue of this Ordinance, shalbe defended and saved harmlesse therein by authority of both Houses of Parliament.

H. Elsynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

The last Intelligence from the Kings Army, viz. Numb. 72

E. of Manchester and Sir Will. Waller

Captaine Sippins and others condemned for divers treacheries, by the Court-martiall.

Fairfax Church, and 300 houses in Oxford burnt downe.



The Earle of Denbigh.

Mercurius Civicus.

LONDONS INTELLIGENCER

OR,

Truth impartially related from thence to the whole Kingdome,

to prevent miſ-information.

From *Thurſday* 0*ctob.* 3. to *Thurſday* 0*ctob.* 10: 1644.

ALthough not much conſiderable action hath beene performed by any of the Armies throughout the Kingdome the weeks paſt, yet it hath abounded with divers various and uncertaine reports, which have bin for the moſt part raiſed, vented and publiſhed according to the ſeverall humours, fancies and inclinations of the relators; ſometimes the rumour was that the

affaires of the Parliament went on successefully and prosperously in divers parts: by and by this was crushed with a clamour, that the Kings party were most prevalent. Friday, and Saturday last we had a confident report that *Glenhams* powers were routed and defeated by the Lincolneshire forces, and that the Cloud which over spread that County was dissipated, but munday following instead of a confirmation thereof (which was so generally expected) we had (though not so welcome yet more certaine) Intelligence; That the blackneſſe of those clouds did still continue, and that the enemies did not onely proceed in their plunderings of those parts, but that they had also possessed themselves of Crowland, whereby that Country is like to be longer infested with the enemies then was expected. But I shall waive all these or such like generall reports, and shal indeavour according to my wonted relation to walke in the paths of Truth, and communicate such relations only as I shall receive from the most credible hands.

And first I shall give you an account of the taking of Crowland the fourth time (for it was thrice wonne and lost before since these late wars) the manner whereof is certified to be thus: divers Fishermen and others of the Malignant Townsmen had so contrived their Designes with the Cavaliers that they promised to give them possession of the Towne, which they effected thus: on Friday night last, *Octob.* 4. They sent their boates to fetch over the Cavaliers who comming unexpectedly upon our Garrison there, which were but two companies surprised them and became masters of the Towne, and three pieces of Ordinance which were sent lately before from Linne and were not then mounted; had not the Cavaliers (through perfidy of the Townsmen used this stratagem they could never have gained that Towne by force: for that about 60 men may keep out many thousands, there being but two wayes or causeys to get to it, both which are so narrow that two horses can scarce goe a breſt.

The Towne of it selfe is of no great consequence being very poore and ruinous, but the losse thereof is like to prove very discommodious to the Ile of Ely and other the adjacent parts, which would be much annoyed should the enemy hold it this Winter, the best and onely way therefore will be for the Counties (which I heare they are already indeavouring to doe) to block them up speedily, which two small Regiments may easily doe, and so keepe them from plundering

for

for the present, and inforce them to a surrender in a short time. A party of the said horse (being Sir *Tho. Glenhams* and the Newarkers) were a while before invited by some Malignants into Peterborough where they plundered divers houses and carried away with them Sir *Humphery Omer* an ancient Gentleman, for that he had formerly appeared for the Parliaments side.

On munday last, *Octob.* 7. Colonell *Urrey* (formerly imployed by the Parliament, and afterwards diserting them) was brought up to London, and carried before the Committee of both Kingdomes, (who sate all that day very close;) before whom the substance of his examination then taken, was to this effect: That he being desirous to desert his Majesties service, obtained leave of His Majesty to travell into Denmarke, and for his more secute passage sought to procure a Passe from the L. Generall, but before he could obtaine it, he with divers other prisoners were surprized in their quarters by some of Sir *William Wallers* forces.

The same day also the house of Commons tooke into consideration the desire of the five Regiments of foot (which, as I advertised last weeke) are designed to goe out of London for the West, and to be joyned either with the Earle of Manchester or Sir *Wil. Waller* according to the appointment of the Committee of both Kingdomes) to have Major-generall *Skippon* to be Commander in chiefe of that brigade, and they then passed a Vote to this effect: *That the house of Commons did not conceive it requisite or necessary as affaires now stand, to have the said Brigade to be under the command of the said Major-generall* Skippon; *and further ordered, That the Committee for the Militia should have notice of the said vote.* Yet as a testimony of their favour, and good affection of that ever renowned patriot and faithfull Commander Major-generall *Skippon*, the Parliament have ordered him 500 pound in part of satisfaction for the faithfull service he hath done for the State. Likewise this evening Sir *James Harrington* marched forth with his Regiment (being the red Regiment of Westminster, which at a full appearance consists of about 1900.) and they quartered that night at Brainford, Hamersmith, and the parts adjacent; Colonel *Bookers* red Regiment of London are also upon their march, and the rest will advance speedily after them.

For news out of the West it was then advertised, that His Majesty

was not come to Oxford as some malignants in Towne not onely affirmed but swore, but that he was then at the Lord *Paulets* house at Hinton in Somersetshire, and his Army were quartered at Chard Crookhorne, and the places thereabouts; They appointed to keep a generall rendezvouz at Kings Sedgemore in that County on Wednesday last. We cannot heare that they have made any attempt upon Taunton castle, if they doe, they are likely to be bravely received by that gallant Commander, Lieutenant Col. *Blake*, Governour thereof, who having 80 of the valiant defenders of Lyme with him, and the Castle being victualled for seven moneths, will not feare the power of the Kings Army, and is resolved to hold it out as long as he has a man left.

The Kings forces sometimes advance in parties towards Sherburne, but quickly turne faces about, but in case they should move that way Colonell *Dalbere* will be ready to entertaine them at Blanford, where he keepes the passage, and Sir *William Waller* makes good the passage at Shaftesbury, towards whom a party of the Kings Army were advanced on Thursday last, but upon second thoughts drew backe. The Devonshire men following the president of their neighbours of Cornwall will hardly be perswaded to advance out of their owne County.

Tuesday last the fourth of this instant October was the first day of the publique sitting of the Court-martiall in Guildhall London, they having before sate at Weavers-hall, about the preparing of examinations, and other matters in readinesse for publique triall; the first man they proceeded against was one Captaine *Thomas Sippins*, who after a full hearing and reading over his severall examinations, confessions, and many pregnant and evident testimonies against him, was condemned to die. The sentence passed against him by the Court (whereof the right honourable Earle of Denbigh was president) and delivered by Mr. *Mill* Advocate thereof, was to this effect: *Captaine Thomas Sippins you have been arraigned and convicted before this honourable Court-martiall, for that you have traiterously endeavoured to betray the Island of Garnsey in the power of the Parliament to the enemy: For which you are condemned to be hanged by the necke untill you be dead. And the Lord have mercy on your soule.*

The next that was tried was one *Francis Pitts* yeoman, who endeavoured to betray Hurstall-hall, a Garrison of the Parliaments, unto the

the enemy. This *Pitts* was imployed by Colonell *Levaſon*, Governour of Dudley-caſtle, to agitate betweene him and Captaine *Tuthill* Governour of Ruſſell hall under the commaud of the Earle of Denbigh, concerning the ſurrender of thereof to him. The firſt Letter carried by the ſaid *Pitts* to Captaine *Tuthill* was as followeth:

SIr, the Propoſitions made unto you by this bearer were done by my allowance, and ſhall be performed in all that he undertakes, if you pleaſe to accept of it; it ſhall be much to your advantage, without the leaſt ſuſpition on your part. I deſire to heare from you ſuddenly.

2000. LEVISON.

Upon the receipt whereof the cordiall governour Captain *Tuthill* having taken advice of the Commanders and Officers in the houſe with him, went on in a ſeeming way of complyance with the deſigne, and ſent ſeverall Letters to Colonell *Leviſon*, wherein he ſtill endeavoured to advantage the Parliament, and to get his owne Chyrurgion, and what priſoners he could to be releaſed by the Colonell; at laſt theſe Articles were ſent by Colonell *Leviſon* to Captaine *Tuthill* to ſigne:

Articles of agreement betweene Colonell *Leviſon* Governour of Dudley-caſtle, and Captaine *Tuthill* Governour of Ruſſell hall, made Septemb. 4. 1644.

1. IT *is agreed that Captaine* Tuthill *ſhall deliver up Ruſſell Hall unto the Forces of Colonell* Leviſon *on munday night next, being the* 9. *of this inſtant moneth, between the houres of* 11 *and* 12.

2. *It is agreed that Colonell* Leviſon *ſhall give unto the ſaid Captain* Tuthill 2000 *pounds of which* 200 *is immediately to be depoſited in the hands of* Francis Pit, *and to be by him delivered (upon the ſurrender of the houſe) unto the ſaid Captaine* Tuthill, *and alſo immediately upon the ſurrender he is to receive from the hands of Colonell* Leviſon *the reſidue of the* 2000. *pound.*

3. *That the Souldiers of the ſaid Colonell ſhall not plunder, nor take away the goods nor horſes belonging unto the ſaid Captaine* Tuthill; *but if any be taken, that the Colonell allow him a convenient rate for them.*

To

To the performance of these conditions, the parties aboveſaid doe mutually bind themſelves; In witneſſe whereof they have ſet unto their hands.

Upon the recept of theſe Articles, Captaine *Tuthill* ſent another letter to Colonell *Leviſon*, wherein for the moſt part he conſented to the Articles and only altered the day mentioned in the firſt Article, and adviſed him to come on the Thurſday following at a 11 of the clock with 40 horſe and 40 Dragooners, which was a greater party then he had within, at which time he would ſtand at the bridge ready to receive him, he alſo wiſhed him to come as Colonell *Fox* and directed him what his men ſhould ſay and anſwer. But about the ſame time having gotten his priſoners from Colonell *Leviſon*, apprehended the ſaid *Pitts* and a popiſh prieſt that came in agitation with him from Colonell *Leviſon*. But the enemies horſe not knowing but that all went for them came to Ruſſellhall at the time appointed, and an eminent Commander came to the gate and called Corporall, anſwer was made; *who was there?* The enemy ſaid *a friend: who are you for* ſaid Captaine *Tuthill?* he anſwered *Denbigh*, whereupon the Captaine diſcharged againſt him with his piſtolls, and he retreated, and Captaine *Tuthill* cauſed his Drakes to be diſcharged againſt the body, and divers of the enemy were ſeen to fall, but the particular number is not known.

The Court martiall ſtraightly examined all the former paſſages, and the ſaid *Pitts* being found to be a chiefe Actor in the treacherous deſigne, was condemned to be hanged according to Martiall Law.

The third that was tried was one *William James* a foote ſouldier in the L. Generals Army, who having received 40 s. advance money beſides much of his pay deſerted his colours, upon examination and proofe whereof and ſeverall other Officers, he was condemned (and to be made an example) according to this Law and Ordinance of his Excellency the Parliaments Lord Generall. *No man that is inrolled ſhall depart from the Army, or Garriſon, or from his Colours without licenſe, upon paine of Death.*

After him one *Thomas Burnet* a Trooper was tried for divers offences, but upon examination he was only for the preſent remitted to the cuſtody of the Provoſt martiall.

The

The other three are to be executed in Smithfield on Saturday next.

Tuesday *Octob.* 8. the very day whereon the Antiparliament, or new nothing at Oxford should have re-assembled; There came letters from Major Generall *Browne* and divers others at Abington which related, That there has been a late great fire at Oxford, upon the first discovery whereof Major Generall *Browne* drew forth a party and faced Oxford, but finding them well provided returned backe. It begun upon the last Lords day at night and in an Alehouse in St. Giles where divers of the Roaring Cavaliers were according to their usuall manner on that day making merry, with Fidlers; from which place it burnt on and consumed many houses, till it came to Cairefax Church which it burnt downe; There were in all about 300 houses burnt. This sad accident might be a warning unto all profaine Sabbath breakers either at Oxford or in any part of the Kingdome, it being a sinne of so crying a nature, that the Almighty out of just vengeance and judgement upon the committers thereof hath often punished with fire, as Tiverton and other places in this Kingdom noted for Sabbath breaking can witnesse.

There hath been lately not much Intelligence from the Northern parts Newcastle still holds out, on Thursday last when the messenger came away, about an 100 Canon playd perpetually upon the Towne, and the Scots before it had prepared seven mines, unto which they intended to give fire at once, every night some escape and certifie, That their wants increase within. The Countries of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmerland are (as I advertised a fortnight since) about the associating themselves together, and have made a great progresse therein, Leverpoole is still begirt and Chester straightned, Sir *William Brereton* having possessed himselfe of all the enemies garrisons about it, also we heare that sir *John Melárum* hath taken a Fort which commanded the passage of any Ships to Leverpoole by sea, so that now there is an opportunity of besieging it as well by Sea as by Land.

Friday the 11 instant the Archbishop of Cantusburies counsell are appointed to appeare in the house of Peeres, and then to be heard in point of Law, that is, whether they can make it appeare by any Law that the Acts done by him are not Treason.

The Irish Rebells *Macquere* and *Macmahun*, are appointed to come

come to their Triall in the Old Bayly Thursday the 10 instant, against which time a compleat Jury are provided, and the councell against them, *viz.* Mr. *Prynne* Mr. *Nudigate*, and M. *Bradshaw*, appointed to bring in their evidences.

On Wednesday last *October* the 9. the house of Commons againe fell upon the Propositions to be sent to His Majesty, and made a very great progresse in them, a few dayes more will fully effect them, and then they will be speedily sent to my L. Generall, who it is hoped will by that time be with the E. of Manchester, and Sir *Will. Waller* at the generall Randezuous beyond Salisbury, and there according to the earnest desire of his Souldiers have another incounter with the Kings Army, which (as I heare) are not likely to advance towards Oxford this Winter, but rather His Majesty intends to take up his winter quarters in the West.

This afternoon the Blue Regiment of the Trained bands advanced out of London.

Out of Yorkshire the intelligence is, that a party of the enemy have falne upon Col. *Malevereys* quarters neere Rippon, and tooke about 20 of his horse.

The sieges before Basing-house, Banbury, and Dennington doe still continue. At Dennington-castle they still hang out their blacke Flag, refusing either to give or take quarter; but it is conceived that the haughtinesse of these petty garrisons will be soone brought downe.

By those who came lately from Bristoll, it is certified that Col. *Massie* was lately before Sir *John Winters* house in the Forrest of Deane, in which is about 300 men; whereof Sir *John Winter*, being then at Bristoll having intelligence, would have had 500 souldiers from thence to relieve his house, but he could not prevaile with any to march out of the City. So that I doubt not but that successefull Commander will shortly give a good account of the taking of that place.

FINIS.

London, Printed for *Tho. Bates* at the signe of the Mayden-head on Snow-hill, neere the Conduit. And *I. W. J.* in the Old-baily, 1644.

Numb. 68.

THE PARLIAMENT SCOVT:

Communicating His Intelligence TO THE KINGDOME.

From Thursday the 3. of October. to Thursday the 10. of October. 1644.

Thursday the 3. of October.

WEE received Letters from my Lord Generall, purporting that he had sent 2000. horse to Sir *William Waller*, and so soon as he was accommodated with necessaries for his foot, and that his Artillery was come, he would after himselfe for revenge; we hope it will begin at home, and that the Parliament will be revenged upon those that seduced him, if any such be, and betrayed his power and honour, and returned him a looser in both, which otherway, in all probability he had never lost, but Histories must have been necessitated to record him Victor in all the expeditions that ever he made: Take away the *Achans*, and the Army prospers.

The same day we had Letters from Sir *William Waller*, which confirmes us in his good condition, and resolution, he lookes his Majesties powers in the face, and resolves to stand if they come, being 7000. or 8000.

ſtrong: We heard alſo that the *Yorkeſhire* and *Darbiſhire* horſe were come to *Lincoln*, and joyned with Colonel *Roſſiter*, and intended to go againſt the *Newarkers*, who were indeavouring to get *Torſey* Bridge, thereby the better to paſſe into *Lindſey*, but upon their approach they went back. The ſame Letters tell that they have burnt Sir *Robert Cars* houſe neere *Sleyford*, for which there lies as great an Odium upon him that ran away from it, as upon thoſe that burnt it, it being death by the Law of Armes to deſert a ſtrength, unleſſe neceſſitated ſo to do: We heard alſo that the *Newarkers* were ſo bold, a matter of ten or twelve of them to venture eighteen or twenty miles to fetch in an active man for the Parliament, ſee how the people are ſubdued, not dare to diſturb ten men, eighteen miles from reliefe and retreate, its no marvell the Sword is called the ſlave-maker: The *Newarkers*, with others its ſaid draw towards *Northampton* Shire, and intend to diſturb *Harborough* Faire, or elſe to draw off that power that is about *Banbury*, which now rather block it up then beſiege it, many of the forces being called thence to go Weſt, when it happens: This day the Commons did heare particular complaints, to the great content of divers.

We had this day the ſad effect of that miſchievous Den commanded by Sir *Hugh Cholmley*, who by his Ships at *Scarborough* hath taken halfe a Fleet of Colliers, and the beſt halfe as we heare comming from *Sunderland*, which hath raiſed the price of Coales, whereas otherwayes they would have been cheap; Poore *London*! Straw dearer and dearer, yet the tale of Bricks not diminiſhed: A ſmall matter to have a man of War to convoy them, we have paid, and ſhall pay deare for Sea-coales if this weather hold.

Friday the 4. of October.

This day we had confident Letters, that his Majeſty was come forwards from the Weſt, as far as *Dorcheſter*, yea five miles on this ſide, we make great queſtion whether they knew his Majeſty that brought the ſtory, let us not be over confident in our enemies folly, ſure if they leave retreats, and advance, they muſt be 30000. horſe and foot, or they may happen come ſhort back, unleſſe they have another overture on foote but let them come, Sir *William Waller* is in the Reare, my Lord Generall flankes them, and my Lord *Manchester* will march to meet them, we may hap drive them into a Cornish Mouſetrap, and recover our Artillery again, but what if this be but a party, and the ſame that came with his Majeſty to *Oxford*, laſt week, as our Malignants boaſted, who would fain have their friends neerer, and got to their old quarters at *Oxford*, becauſe the grand day of the Counſels appearing draws on, in which, ſomewhat like a Parliament

is

is to be convened; two Parliaments, and two Popes, we shall have brave Laws, and a brave Religion in time, if all things succeed well of our enemies side.

This day it was Ordered, that all Officers were to depart to their charge, on pain of loosing their pay, and being cashiered, a good order for those that are good, but for others, the farther off the better.

This day it was reported, that the Garrison of *Basing* had got out, and fetcht in provision, and that my Lord *Manchesters* Major Generall had been to view the house, and intended to attempt against it: The siege of *Dunnington* Castle continues, but that also is like to prove a hard pull: These Castles and houses of strength are mischievous things, its not for nothing, that policy of State, though good, they should go to decay in *England*, and not be re-edified.

Saturday the 5. *of* October.

It was hotly affirmed, the enemies powers, mighty and numerous, was come as far as *Salisbury*, we hope they intend not to take Shipping at *Portsmouth*, this we do for the present no more credit, then that they were on this side *Dorchester* the day before, unless: a party of horse only, as we said.

Letters from *Sunderland* tell us that *Newcastle* disputes the businesse very hotly with the besiegers, and is like to hold out over long for them, in regard of the season: The same Letters tell us of the sad condition the Counties of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *VVestmerland* are in, hardly a horse good or bad to be seen, nor a yong beast, an old Oxe or Cow you may see that ploughs the ground, all other accommodations as scarce, and so though rid of the sword, famine and pestilence threatens them, and irresistably: would to God these Counties were only in these miseries, but we feare others have deeply drunk of this cup: What shall we do to get this laid to heart: Can there be an English man that loves his Countries weale, and yet shall drive on a design to prolong this War, and keepe the scales eaven, thereby to force the violent party to I know not what termes? but more of that in the conclusion.

We told you some weeks since, of a party of five Regiments that was to go out of *London*, there hath been care taken, that those that go in the room of house keepers (who of all others its most unfit should go, having families, whose absence puts all into a stand at home, and whose death is usually the beggering of wife and children) shall not have advance, nor such pay as they use to have, which pay the poore housekeepers, many of them have pincht for, and have not recovered to this day: This Brigade before voted to joyn with my Lord *Manchester* is going forth, it would

have been a great comfort to them to have had Major Generall *Skippon* gone chief of them, and to have returned to a more immediate ſervice of the City then of late, but what cannot be, cannot be : One ſaies well, Carps thrive beſt when there are no Pikes amongſt them.

We have ſaid nothing a long time of my Lord of *Canterbury*, he is yet in the Tower, we have had more trouble about him then he is worth, one of his faults would have baniſhed him to New-England (and by this time one hundred of his fraternity might have been ſentenced and ſent with him, or after him) whereas all his faults its to be feared will hardly hang him.

Some there are that would fain be ſerving our enemies, and to that end urge free trade, but a Petition this day was from the City againſt it, wee muſt take care to carry that buſineſſe handſomely, for we have to deale with a pettiſh company.

His Majeſties Plate is to be ſold, never ſuch melting as in theſe dayes, what an infinite of mony is there in *England*, viſible, and inviſible, unleſſe there be over much ſtollen beyond Seas.

Monday the 7. of October.

We had ſeverall news, and few good, the firſt and worſt was the loſſe of *Crowland*, the enemy put all to the ſword he found in Armes, which was never a one, the diſpute was not whether they ſhould fight or flie; but which way they ſhould flie that kept it, ſure its a place of no great conſequence, we have been ſo conſtantly careleſſe of it, we will not name the man accuſed for this loſſe, becauſe we do not know him guilty, but ſure ſome body deſerves ſevere puniſhment for it, what ſhall we think of theſe looſings ? The Kings forces ſtand out every where, and looſe by inches, ſure they are *Spaniſh* breed, who are ſaid to be digged out of places, but we are of the old *French* breed, who are ſaid to hop out of thoſe places they hold ; Some ſay they of our enemies ſide in all the ſtrengths, are for the greater part Papiſts, it were well if thoſe in ours were Puritans, if extreames do beſt, as ſome ſay they do : the honeſt P. is indifferent which ſide prevailes.

Our next news was, that the enemy begins to keep a ſtir in *Stafford*, and *Warwickeſhire*, and while we are debating who ſhall command in chiefe, all the chiefe goods of the Country are carryed away by the enemy.

And beſides they begin to fortifie places again, out of which they were formerly beaten, is it not poſſible to end thoſe differences ? if head and members cannot agree, let the head have other members, or the members another head, and let not the Countries ſuffer by difference and be made unſerviceable to themſelves and the Kingdome: This day we were bid to

believe

beleive that my Lord *Manchester* was advanced from *Reading* Westward and that Leiutenant Generall *Cromwell* is come to him, There was never so brave a month as that past to have gone in and fallen upon the enemy, the heavens seemed to invite us by the bravest season that ever was at this time of the yeare known, and if now we should advance, the old weather wise man will say no, for after a great drout comes raine, and then Ordnance cannot passe; we will not undertake to passe sentence, but this we offer, why may it not be better now to take in these places, as *Banbury*, *Bazing house*, *Wallingford*, *Dunington*, and block up *Oxford*, then to go West at this season if raine falls much: especially when the Letters,

Tuesday the 8. of October.

Tell us that the forces said to be at *Salisbury*, *Dorchester*, &c. were now gone to *Sherborne*, and so to *Bristoll*, to recruite from *Ireland* this winter, and its but need, for the powers are neither great nor unanimous, there is yet too many Protestants among them, and there is differences and devisions there also, but herein it differs, they commonly agree against us.

This day Sir Thomas, or Collonel *Vrrey* came to *London*, and was with the Committee of both Kingdomes a good while, he came through Sir *William Wallers* quarters, and desires to passe beyond seas, which its beleived he will be permitted to do, which confirmes us that he was no renegado as some ignorant publish, who know not what a renegado meanes; he saith Sir *William Waller* is in a very brave condition, and hath excellent good quarter at *Shasbery*, and is there impregnable, and would be glad the enemy would attach him, its true he hath not artillery, and an infantry to encounter the enemy, other way he would we: will not say Collonel *Vrrey* discovers any thing of the Courts Plots, nor yet offers his service here, and is of opinion that there need be no great a do to end our English troubles if we have a mind to it, he hath been in the northern expeditions, and is lately come with Prince *Rupert* to the Kings quarters, and so intends beyond seas; there is order that he have faire respect, and no way restricted, nor his comrade, a Captaine that came with him.

We had this day a report by Scotland as if we had got some victory over the *Irish* in *Ulster*, we have had many victories in words: first we talked of one, and that *Aulicus* took ill; he reported one as we here last week that the rebells had got, and is proud of their good successe, and may we not take that as ill: its strange that it should be matter of joy to the royall party that the rebells prevaile in *Ireland*, and against the *Scots*, sent thither with His Majesties consent; can it be that ever articles should be agreed upon between us, and such spirits, and if, how is it to be imagined that ever they

should be kept inviolable by such as joy at the destruction of the *Scots* in *Ireland*, and at the good successe of the rebells Papists.

By letters this day we understood of the wearied condition of the besiegers of *Banbury*, and the necessity of their continuance there, and of the running away of the new party that came thither, hundred after hundred, untill of 800 not one was left, notwithstanding my Lord of *Manchesters* strict order published in all the Churches, in so much, that if we take no better care to prevent this evill, as good they were never comanded out, for if they instantly returne, what do they but spend the Countries money, and give us leave to say that if the Collonels and Captaines were punished as they might: there neither would nor could be such running away.

We understood of parties of horse and dragoones at Huntington; and from my Lord of *Manchester*, and others from severall other parts who are drawing towards *Lincolnshiere*, and are for to hinder the enemies advances if possible, and either block up or retake Crowland.

There came to our eares this day, and divers times the weekes before a confident tale that Collonel *Cromwell* and others with him had declared they would lay down their Commissions, and would serve in armes no longer unlesse they might have a tollera-ion of Independancy, and I know not what besides, we expected somewhat before this by way of satisfation to the Kingdome to have taken off such aspersions, as these, dispersed by a ridged company of I know not what, that will stirre up strife among our selves though never so much advantagious to our enemies, but in regard it comes not to prevent the spreding of this gangren, we dare affirme that never any such thing was said; for we know expressions have been to this effect, that they desire to goe on against the Common enemy, and as soone as may be vanqui h them, in which they will be as forward and adventure as farre as any, God assisting, and if after all is ended, that which shall be established, shall not be such as they can concur in, they will desire no other favour for all their service, but to take what is theirs, and begone, and if this be not reasonable and fit to be condiscended unto, let all the world judge.

There is great expectation of the triall of the two *Irish* Lords, that their merit is the worst of Deaths, theres no doubt, but whether a proceeding against them at this time may not prejudice many hundred Protestants in *Ireland*, we leave it to those that sit at the helme to judge.

Wednesday the 9. of October.

We were more fully informed both of the losse, and also of the hope of gaining Crowland; as to the losse, the Town betraid the Centinell, and so

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the Garrison, two Companies commanded by Captaine *Cony* was taken, there is a great talk that Major *Ireton* is guilty of this losse, but we are assured from good hands, that he had nothing to do in the businesse: As to the regaining, its endeavoured by the Counties round, *Hunington* sends in an hundred, and *Elie* and other parts, like proportions, and now they will take better care, and starve all those within, who are very ill storted with provisions; we do not doubt but we shall suddenly regain that place, and if there be no other way, we can cut the Causeys, and destroy them without mercy.

This day we made speciall search concerning the fire at *Oxford*, we will give you the severall reports, some say the Letter of Colonell *Brown* makes half the Town to be burnt, and the rest on fire, others that three hundred and 30. houses are burnt, some say lesse, in short, that there was a fire, we believe, what was burnt we thinke is not yet fully known, all agree the Colledges were not touch't, the misery was the Townsmens, they that worst may, suffer: but if it be burnt in part, what is that to us, it is no advantage, we have no gaine, the City is likely to hold out the longer: if the Magazine of victuals, or Ammunition had been burnt it had been some advantage to us as to the taking of it, but of that we heare nothing.

That Sir *William Brereton* doth straiten *Chester* we believe, and there is no losse to be expected, for there is no enemy there in field, Prince *Rupert* is like to baite no more Beares in *Westchester*, there is hopes we may have *Liverpoole*, but not so soone as we lost *Crowland*, Sir *John Meldrum* doth his best.

The house of Commons had this day full debate of the Propositions, and scanned at large the qualifications as to exemptions from mercy in part, in whole, &c. we wish they were all ready, that they might be sent, and why may it not

be

be handſome to have them go with my Lord *Manchesters* Army, when it goes Weſt: when theſe Propoſitions are gone, we ſhall have ſtopt the mouthes of our Adverſaries, who cry, the Parliament indures not peace, but when it ſhall fall out that there is not the leaſt condeſcending (though ſome are of opinion, that there will be a great compliance, ſuch extremities are the Royall powers brought unto) what will they then have to ſay for themſelves? They and many more cry peace, peace, and what peace would they have? They are not willing the Parliament ſhould overcome, nor that the King ſhall, for if the King, then ſay they, Popery and Tyranny will gain too much, if the Parliament, then Puritaniſme: Poore men! rather affect a relapſe, then a perfect recovery: And give us leave to prophecy, that Treaties will not end our troubles, at leaſt bring us a good end, for can it be imagined, that the King having his powers about him will ever accord without a generall act of oblivion, and if that be, where are we? ſhall we, now we have ſpent ſo much, loſt ſo much blood, leave any of the Philiſtines to be prickes, and goades; no, let us down with them, there is enough of the Parliaments friends to execute all the truſts in this Kingdom under his Majeſtie, we need not their enemies, they have done evill, let us trie others, and ſee how they will carry themſelves.

London Printed for R. W. *Octob.* 10. 1644.

Britannicus His Pill

TO CVRE

MALIGNANCY,

OR

Frenzie, now raigning amongst divers English Protestants, which will not see the danger that their Religion and Liberties now lie in:

BEING

The whole Progresse of the Adversaries long, and continued Plots, briefly laid open, and discovered; whereby the archest Malignant will be either convinced, or condemned, and the weakest of the well-affected sufficiently strengthened and encouraged with all vigour to proceed with the Parliament in the defence of Religion and Liberty.

Published by Authority.

London Printed for *Robert White*, 1644.

Britannicus his Pill to cure Malignancy.

I will begin with His Majesties Raign, A *strange Wife* is prepared, which according to the Scripture is a dangerous Preparative for a *strange God*, surely they will turn their hearts after their Gods, 1 *Kin.* 11. 2. This ground-work being laid, they endeavour to perswade the King by *fraud* and *subtiltie* to bring in *Popery* and *Slavery*, for the effecting whereof, observe first the *designe* of the bringing in the *German Horse*, the *Billiting* of Souldiers, the frequent and untimely *breaking* and *dissolving* Parliaments, setting before his Majestie the *example* of *France* and his broken *Parliaments* in full power as an *object* of *Emulation*: Then the *Bishops* and their *Episcopall Creatures* have publikely *preached*, and in their *discourse* and *writing* indeavoured to *maintain* that opinion and argument, *That all we have is the Kings, and he ought to do what he pleaseth*; as if God made all the world for a few Kings, and not for the people, and perswaded Him that *Parliaments* and *Puritans* were His Majesties chiefest enemies: Moreover looke what *endeavors* have been used by the *Bishops* to *cheat* us of our *Religion* by degrees and pauses; to set up *Popery* at one time would have made too great a noise, but with a *gentle hand*, and to do it so as it might steale upon us insensibly, and should devour us, but we should neither know nor see; To have *suspended* all *Orthodox preachers* at once, that would have been too conspicuous, but by *degrees*; First to *suspend* all *Lectures*, as an order of Vagrants not to be tollerated in the *Church*. Next *forbid* all *Pastors* preaching in their owne Churches in weeke dayes: Then *inhibit* preaching on the *Lords day* in the afternoone, under pretence of *advance*

The destructive way.

of

of Catechiſme; ſoone after *forbid* all *Praying* but in the *words* of the *Canon*. After this the *Communion Table* muſt be *rayled* in; ſoon after it muſt be *ſet* in *Altar poſture*, Then all muſt be *compelled* to come and *kneel* before *it* or not *receive* the *Sacrament*, then it muſt be eryed up as *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and that all mens *faces* muſt be *towards it* in Prayer: Secondly to preſſe the *Examples* and *practiſes* of ſome as a *great meanes* to bring on the reſt, to *dazle* the eyes of the leſſe judicious people of the Kingdome, as my Lord *Archbiſhop*, or *Biſhop* bow *verſus Altare*, the *Lords* of the muſt honorable *Order* of the *Garter* at their inſtalment *bow* towards the *Altar*, His Majeſties *Chapell* is thus and thus *adorned*: Thirdly an *Edict* for Recreation up on the *Lords day* is procured, and it muſt be read by the Miniſters: Fourthly to *Caſt* all out of the *Miniſtery* that will not be punctuall and full *Conformiſts* to the *old Ceremonies*, Fiftly *inioyning* a fardell of new and unheard of *Ceremonies* and *iniunctions*: Sixtly *Prayers* muſt be made and Proclamations read againſt our brethren the *Scots*: laſtly the *new* and *unparelled oath* for *Epiſcopacy*: Thus you ſee how by *degrees*, *ſtratagems* and *Engines* they indeavored to worke out thoſe *Arch-heriticks* as they called all good and *godly Miniſters* out of the Miniſtry, As it was ſometimes ſaid to *Eliah. 1 Kings 19.* him that eſcapeth the ſword of *Hazaell*, ſhall *Iehu* ſlay, and him that eſcapeth the ſword of *Iehu*, ſhall *Eliſha* ſlay; ſo had they ſaid, him that eſcapeth the *dint* of the *Ceremonies*, ſhall the *book* of *ſports* ſlay, and him that eſcapeth the book of ſports, ſhall the *Proclamations* ſlay, and him that eſcapeth the Proclamations, ſhall the *Oath* ſlay: The chiefeſt and greateſt fomenters and promoters of theſe ſinceſſive Stratagems we all know, neither can any Malignants or Atheiſts deny but the Late Earle of *Strafford* and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* were the two *great engines* of this work, and what manner of *favorites* both of them were at *Court*, and what *intereſts* they had in His *Maieſtie* and the

The deſtructive way.

Queen is apparant enough, and by the events it doth too notoriously appeare: The Archbishop was he that held Correspondency with Rome, as by severall Letters may appeare, and to whom the Cardinalls Cap from *Rome* was sent, and he that indeavored to be *papa alterius orbis*, This is *he* that altered the *oath* to be taken by the *King* at His *Coronation*, and indeavored to overthrow and annihilate *Magna Charta*, and to bring in *Tiranny and Popery*, as by these and severall other Articles which are proved against him in the house of *Peers*, by which his *designe* is sufficiently apparent what he intended, for which it is hoped he shall receive suddenly his *just reward*.

Since these *private designes* was discovered, and the *War* against the *Scots* became frustrate, then brake out the *Irish* in *Rebellion*, who are now esteemed his Majesties *best* and *faithfull* Subjects; although it is apparent that the *Irish Nation*, beares not only an inveterat hatred to the *Brittish Nation* and our *Religion*, but even to the very beasts and Plants of the *English* by their cruell torments and *massacres* of *two hundred thousand* Protestants, and the wasts and spoiles made upon the English Plants and Cattle, as by severall *Depositions* taken upon Oath doth, and may appeare; and in their generall discourse, they say they have, and had the *Kings Commission* for what they have done, or do, and the horses, or other Cattle they took away from the *Protestants* there, they marked with the *Queenes marke*, and usually called themselves the *Queenes Souldiers*: You may remember the Oath they have taken, with all their power to uphold and maintain the *free exercise* of the Romane Catholike Faith and *Religion*, and to obey and ratifie all the *Orders* and *Decrees* made, and to be made by the supreame Councell of the Confederate Catholicks: you may likewise take notice that thousands of *Proclamations* and *Declarations*, how speedily and quickly they were read against the *Scots*, but when the

Irish

Irish Rebellion broke out first, it was a long time, neere two moneths before any *Proclamation* could be obtained against them, though often pressed and desired by the Parliament, and when obtained, the *Printer* of the *Proclamation* by speciall command must print but forty, such favour, such countenance had that barbarous and most horrid *Rebellion*: Remember also Generall *Munro* writ, that about a yeare since the Earl of *Antrim* being going over out of *England* into *Ireland*, was taken at Sea, and about him was found severall papours and *instructions*, whereby it doth plainly appeare (as he writes) that the *designe* was to *root out*, and wholly extirpate the *Protestant Religion* in all the three Kingdomes of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, since which time the Earl of *Antrim* escaped, and is now preferred to be a *great Officer* in *Ireland*, and since made a Marquisse: Moreover the Generals of the Irish forces in *Ulster* did offer to my Lord *Munro* the Parliaments Generall there, to *appeale* to the King, which of them had the *truest Commission*, and which his *Majesty* would *aver* to be his best and most faithfull Subjects, and according to such his Majesties *determinations*, to quit or hold their imployment, if my Lord *Munro* would promise the same, to stand to such his Majesties *determination*: And further, none can deny but the Irish papists *Commissioners* were the persons extraordinarily favoured & countenanced at their late being at *Oxford*, and their *bloody* and unheard of cruelties passed over with a painted peace, and *seeming Cessation*, and the *Protestant Commissioners* then there also at the same time, were slighted and neglected; will not this, and many other passages make it cleare, that the *war* was raised here in *England*, to hinder this Kingdome from sending any supplies of men, money, armes, and ammunition into *Ireland*, against the *Irish Rebels*: Then consider the *Kings comming to the Parliament* (as supposed by the Queens perswasion) to accuse the *five Members* of high Treason, was not here the

great and most dangerous beginning of these wars in this Nation, which if the *five Members* had been delivered up, you may soon conjecture what *Acts* of Parliament would have passed even the next day, to the greater slavery and misery of this Nation, then by the thoughts of man can bee imagined, but by the *providence* of God they were protected by the worthy *Citizens* of this famous City of *London*, and we hope will be *protected* by each other, untill their foes be subdued unto them.

Next the *Kings* going to *Yorke* to raise a *guard* to defend his Person, then his going to see *Hull*, the great Magazine of the Kingdome: Then the *Queen* she pretends to go over into *Holland* to see her *daughter*, when indeed she intended nothing more then to bring over *Armes* and *Ammunition*, though it were with the sale of the *Crown Jewels*. Besides his Majesty tells you at first, no *Papist* must come nigh his person, and were exempted out of the *Warrants* for putting the *Commission* of *Array* in execution: but soon after they were allowed to buy *Armes* for their *defence*, contrary to the *known Lawes* of the Land, and were then desired to send their *horses*, and his Majesty would set *Protestant Riders* upon them, and now behold who more imployed in places of *Trust*, and *countenanced* by honours and preferments, and *esteemed* his best Subjects, kept for *Reserves* in most dangerous Assaults and imployments, and whose *Councells* at Court more prevalent, predominant, and over *ruling* then the *Papists*, and *Irish Rebels*, who worke together, with, and for the *Spanish Faction* in that Court.

See how active the *Queen* is for *promoting* her *Cause*, and what *power* and *interests* she hath with his Majestie, and his Counsells, which cannot be expressed in words, and what *dependance* she hath to *Rome*, and all the Priests and Jesuits both in *Forraigne Nations*, and in *England*, consider also what *Motives* and prayers have been made amongst all the *Roman Catholicks*

Catholiks all over Christendom, for the good successe of the *Kings Armies*, also I could go backe and tell you of the poisonning of *Marquis Hamilton*, &c. the *Popes Nuntioes* residing here, and if *Windebanke* and others of their *Orders*, and *Warrants* in favour of *Priests* and *Jesuits*, and also their intended Massacre against the *chiefest Pillars* of *Scotland*, the Marquis of *Argile*, the Earle of *Lowden*, and Earle of *Leven* and many others when the King was in *Scotland*, the very same day the *Rebellion* in *Ireland* brake forth.

Consider also the *Subtile ingagements* of divers of the children of the *Palatinate* in this war against the Parliament and Kingdom, a *designe* of the Jesuits, fetched from *Hell*, to make an inveterate hatred in this Kingdom to that *family*, thereby if it were possible, to take away all hopes of ever recovering the *Palatinate* again for the right owners.

Looke upon the persons that side with the *King* in this war, if not for the most part, almost generally *Papists*, *Bishops*, and their adherents, Monopolizers, delinquents to the State, beggerly Gentry of this Kingdom, and of the better sort of Nobles, and Gentlemen, terrified and frighted with the *Lions Skin*, and *Foxes Cunning*, some gained with terrour, others with hope of honour, and preferment; this hath much encreased that party amongst the Gentry, and none but know that his *Majesties* Store-house of Common Souldiers, he raiseth from the dark corners of the Land, where ignorance, blindnesse, and Libertinisme is prdominant and a pious godly ministery very scarcely to be heard of, where the Lords day is known by a few Common Prayers in the morning, and by dancing, drinking, and rioting about a May-Pole in the afternoone.

I have now traced and touched upon some of the *heades* of those abuses and false pretences, and *black engins* which our enemies have wrought withall to Cozen, and cheat us of our *Religion*, and *Liberties*, and any understanding man by

by this discourse may easily discerne *Popery*, and *Slavery* was intended: And now curteous Reader, since so many *stratagems* and *Traps* have been laid to insnare thy *Conscience*, and to bereave thee of thy *Religion* and *Liberty*, and fully laid open by the *blessing of God*, in this *fixed Parliament*, who have laboured well nigh *foure yeares* against *Mountains* of dangers and difficulties, and have also eased you of many *burthens* of shipmony, High Commission Court, Monopolizers, and have set thee at Liberty from the *Iron Yoake* of Bishops, and their Hierarchy, and dependants, and are striving, and wrestling to settle the in thee true *Protestant Religion*, in the purity thereof, to be governed by Lawes, and not by Horses, and Garrisons, as in other Nations: not according to the *fancie*, and *will* of the *Prince* or his *favorite*, and also indeavoring to save *three Kingdomes* from a dying, and sad Condition they are now in, which will best appeare, and be discerned when the *present Wars* is over, when we shall *enjoy* what we now so much contend for: Therefore my *advice* is, that every man that loves his *Religion* or *Liberty*, to use his utmost, in their *Prayers*, in their *purses*, and *persons*, to uphold the *Spirits* of such as faithfully stand for theirs, and the Kingdoms good, to their calling in Parliament, though some of their *Members* be turned *Apostats*, and *rotten*, being tossed, and shaken away, with the *anger* of the King, or *inticed* away by *preferments*, or such like vanities; are these things worth the *Religion* and *Liberty* of the Nation? In a word I dare boldly say, that man which doth not cordially uphold, and defend *Parliaments* in times of *tryall*, doth as much as in him lies, to *destroy* the same, and then I *appeale* to every mans *conscience*; If in *destroying* Parliaments, thou doest not as much, as in thou lies, destroy *Religion* and *Liberty* of the Kingdome, which God grant we may never live to see.

FINIS.

THE Numb. 2.

COUNTREY MESSENGER,

OR THE

Faithfull FOOT-POST

Communicating,

His VVeekly *Intelligence* from the ſeverall parts of the KINGDOME; And from beyond the Seas.

Containing ſpeciall Newes from Yorke, Hull, Banbury, Brut port, Ireland, London, Newcaſtle, France, Lyme, Glouceſterſhire, Lincolnſhire, Leverpoole, Monmouth, Aſhby de la Zouch, Redding, Bazing-houſe.

From Friday, Octo. *the* 4. *to Friday,* Octob. *the* 11. 1644.



HE laſt week, our *Meſſenger* found his labour and paines well beſtowed, becauſe they were well accepted, which will encourage him to goe on, though it be a ſore travell, to bring true Newes, in this lying age; wherein people ſet themſelves on purpoſe to invent notorious untruths, and to blemiſh ſuch truths as are undeniable, and as cleer as the brighteſt Sunneſhine, but truth is great, and will prevail, maugre all its opponents, and though it lie a while concealed, yet at length it will break through all the Miſts and ſhadowes of Lies and Errours. Our *Meſſenger* in his travells through the World, hath much obſerved the preſent Poſture of all

the ſeveral Nations in it, and findeth them every where at War one againſt another, ſome for Religion, others for Ambition, Covetouſneſſe, Revenge.

In *Ireland*, the Papiſts are in armes againſt the Proteſtants, chiefly for Religion; but ambition, covetouſneſſe, and revenge ſwayeth there alſo, for the *Iriſh* ſtrive to be ſole Lords there, and would faine caſt off the auncient Engliſh Government, regaine their lands and Poſſeſſions, and be revenged for the long detention of them.

In *England* he findeth, firſt Proteſtant againſt Proteſtant, for the Ceremonies and ſhadows of Religion, which the Prelaticall party ſtrive to maintain, but their opponents; upon better grounds, waving all ſpecious formalities, contend for the truth and ſubſtance of pure and undefiled Religion, loving more the power then the form of Godlineſſe.

Secondly, the Papiſt there fights againſt the Proteſtant, meerly for the eſtabliſhing of their Romane Religion, their ambition is for the Popes Supreamacy, their Covetouſneſſe is to inrich his coffers, and their direfull revenge, to root out all that will not ſubmit to the forreign Potentates of *Rome* and *Spaine*.

Thirdly, ſome Proteſtants in *England*, which have either out-run their means, or never have had any, are not onely drawn to this warre with ambitious deſires of dignities, but with a covetous intention, to wreſt others poſſeſſions from them, and to become maſters of other mens eſtates. Beſides, they bear ſuch immortall hatred to thoſe, whom they terme Roundheads, and Puritanes, that nothing but the blood of them will ſatiate their thirſty revenge.

In Scotland, Proteſtant is againſt Proteſtant, that is, the Anti-covenanter againſt the Presbyterian, and that for Religion alſo; the Anti-covenanters ambition, covetouſneſſe and revenge is chiefly for the extirpation of the Prelates and their Hierarchy.

But now our Meſſenger findes the Papiſt againſt the Proteſtant in that Kingdome alſo, for a party of the Popiſh Iriſh are got in to be revenged on the Scots, not onely for their keeping of *Ulſter* from them, but alſo for ſending of an Army into *England*, to helpe againſt their fellow Catholicks. Religion no doubt is their quarrell alſo, and I will not exempt them from ambition and covetouſneſſe, had they but power ſufficient to prevaile.

In the Low-Countreys, the Papiſt fights againſt the Proteſtant, not onely for Religion, but for Dominion detained from them. But that which cauſeth wonder is, that the Proteſtant Dutch, helpe one Papiſt againſt

gainſt another, as the French againſt the Spaniyard, Religion can have no ſhare in that, it muſt be reaſon of State, and other Intereſts.

But what Religion doe the French, Spaniyards, and Imperialiſts contend for? there is onely Papiſt againſt Papiſt, and therefore ambition, covetouſneſſe, and revenge beare all the ſway in their warres.

View the preſent actions of the North-eaſt parts of the World, and there you ſhall finde *Lutherans* againſt *Lutherans*, as the *Swedes* againſt the *Danes*; Religion is not queſtioned there, thoſe Warres are for affronts and indignities offered by the Danes againſt the *Swedes*, for which the ſword of Revenge is now unſheathed.

The Prince of *Tranſylvania* warres againſt the Emperour is, for reſtauration of the auncient *Hungarian* rights, their priviledges were aboliſhed, and new uſurpations introduced; yet Religion hath a part there, for the Proteſtant *Hungarians* ſeek for ſhelter againſt the Popiſh Imperialiſts.

Our Meſſenger alſo findes the *Lutheran* againſt the Papiſt, as the *Swede* againſt the *Emperour*; that warre was firſt begun to right the wronged Germon Princes, and to reſtore them to their wrongfully bereft poſſeſſions, their two Religions agree in Images, Conſubſtantiation, and ſome other particulers, but diverſifie in the reſt.

In the Infidell world, warres are no wonder, where alwayes *Mahumetan* is againſt *Mahumetan*, as the *Turke* againſt the *Perſian*, and *Pagan* againſt Pagan, as in *Africa*, and both the *Indies*, as well of *Aſia*, as *America*.

Having thus briefly run through the Univerſe, wee will now return to our owne home Newes, and relate unto you, how the ſquares goe amongſt us.

This weekes Letters from *Yorke*, certifie in brief, that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* is well recovered of the wound he had in his ſhoulder, that but few have as yet taken the Covenant in that City, for which cauſe, it will be tendred again to the Inhabitants there.

And the Letters from *Hull* ſignifie, that then they had no Newes from *Newcaſtle*. That the Garriſon at *Hemsley* Caſtle, ſallyed out, and took Lieutenant Colonell *Forbes*, with ſeven more of his men Priſoners, who were ſo farre ingaged with the Enemy, that they could neither retreat, nor be reſcued, but at length the enemy was beaten back againe into the Caſtle, fifteen of their party being ſlaine, and fifteen more of them taken Priſoners. That Sir *Richard Hutton* intendeth to make the Towne of *Knaresburgh* a Garriſon, and was buſie about fortifying it. That Sir *John Ma-*

ney was neere *Gainsburgh* in Lincolnshire, but was beaten away by the *Lincolne* and *Nottingham* forces, he having there, as was deemed, about three thousand horse and foot. That two Cavaliers came from *Newarke* upon Trent to *Hull*, pretending themselves to be strangers, and had almost gotten the Lord *Ogleby*, who is now a Prisoner there, away from thence, they were ready to have put him into a boat, but were prevented of their plot. On the last Fast-day, the Malevolents in that Towne, had a great Feast, were taken at it, but nothing is yet done to them.

This Lord *Ogleby* is the same, that was taken Prisoner in *Lancashire*, of whose instructions we gave you a particular the last Weeke.

From *Banbury* it is informed, that the Besiegers having made sufficient breaches in the Castle wales, have caused their great Ordnance to be drawne off, & conveyed back to *Northampton*, because they could not easily drawe them thither, when the high-wayes become deepe and dirty, it being onely done for their safegard, and that they may not want them at *Northampton* when they shall neede them: but they have retained small Ordnance enough to defend their Leaguer, and so keepe the breaches still open.

The last weeke some of the *Kings* forces were quartered at *Bruttport*, a Towne scituate betweene *Dorchester* and *Lyme*, to hinder all releife from it, one that side of the Countrey, and others of them were quartered at *Axminster*, about sixe miles northwest from *Lyme*, where they received a brush from some of that Garrison, as you shall heare anone.

Our Messenger is informed by way of Report, that there is a new Cessation of Armes in *Ireland*, to continue for the space of three Moneths. And that the Earl of *Clanricard* had a Commission, to put all to the sword, that refused to obey it, which if true, will be more certainly advertised, shortly.

There hath been a motion made to the Parliament, that the Dutch, French, and Spaniards, may have free trade, to *Dartmouth*, *Falmouth*, *Bristoll*, *Newcastle*, and other of the Cavaliers Maritime Garrisons, onely with ordinary merchantable wares and commodities, and not with Arms, Ammunition, and other Warlike Provisions; which the city of *London* liketh not, and therefore they are Petitioning against it, because by a speciall Ordinance of Parliament, they are restrained from trading to those places, and if strangers should be permitted that benefit, it would undoe the City. Besides, it would strengthen those places by the receit of Customes, and inable them to keep the warres still on foot.

Further, those strangers might bring in great summes of money, covert-

covertly hid in secret corners of their shippes, for the maintenance of those that fight against the Parliament. And 'tis a question whether men of Warre that shall come to those Ports, will suffer their ships to be searched. Likewise, the Winter now comming on, and the Parliaments Ships not being able to ride neere those roades, both armes, ammunition, men, and money, under colour of trade, might be brought into those Harbours without controule.

This weekes Intelligence from *Newcastle* is, that there hath benne a sore fight betweene the *Scots* and the Towne, about a Fort upon the North Shells, which was won and lost thrice in one day, but at last the *Scots* gained it, and still keepe it. That the Earl of *Craford* with a hundred horse broke out of the Towne, and is gotten to *Tinmouth* Castle. That the Garrison in *Newcastle* is put to their halfe allowance of foode each day, and that many of them die dayly of the fluxe, and the reason why they have held out so long was, onely in hope that Pr. *Rupert* would come and raise the *Scots* Siege.

This weekes Letters out of *France* signifie, that one *Pamphilio*, who had beene a Civill Lawyer, is chosen Pope at *Rome*, and named *Innocent the Tenth*, and though his birth was ignoble, yet he obtained that degree by his vertue, and the affection of the *Spaniard*.

That the Marshall *la Mesto* was called out of *Catalonia*, because he had raised the Siege at *Tarragon* without cause; as for other faults, that the Count *Harcourt* is constituted Generall there in his place.

That the Duke of *Anguien* continueth his Progresse in *Germany*, hath taken *Francfort*, and intercepted the Governer of *Frankendalls* Letters, importing that he could not long hold the Town for want of victualls, and especially warlike provisions.

That Marshall *Gassion* is entred *Flanders*, hath ruined all the lower part of that Countrey, hath finished the Royall Fort at *Watten*, and other Forts thereabouts, which will much annoy Saint *Omer*. That the *French* Court is yet at *Fontaine bleau*, that the Queene of *England* is at *Nevers* neere *Lyons*, and well recovered of her sickneſſe.

That there is 45. Millions of *Frankes* ready in banke, for the maintenance of their next yeares warres, and that they will shortly begin new leavies of moneyes for the yeere 1646.

That the Emperour of *Germany* is desirous of Peace, but the King of *Spaine* will not hearken to it, whereupon *France* hath protested, that they will redeliver nothing to him, unlesse he restore that which belongs to all others.

Out of *Glocestershire* it is Informed, that Pr. Rupert hath displaced Colonell *Veale* from his Goverment of *Berkely* Castle, and hath placed an Irish Rebell to command that Fort in his roome, which, as is supposed, will be taken so indignely, that his *English* Commander will leave his Service.

A Letter from *Lyme* certifieth, that the Governor thereof hearing the Kings Quartes were at *Axmister*, about sixe miles from him, went out with a party of Horse and foote, and with 30. selected horse went into the Towne, leaving the rest of his horse and foote to come after, wherein the Kings Capteines were so distracted, that they ran up and downe without their horses: in the meane while the Governour killed 7. or 8. tooke nine prisoners and 5. or 6. horse, and seeing the enemy begin to rally, he got safe away with his booty, his horse and foote stayed a mile from the Town, and never came up to helpe, insomuch that he had like to have beene taken, but that he made haste and got cleare from them. And the Letter further Informeth, that the King drew all his forces together to give battell.

Out of *Lincolnshire* it is Informed, that the enemy which besieged *Torksey*, upon the approach of the *Yorkeshire*, *Derby*, and *Nottingham* forces, left that place, and advanced further into the Countrey to plunder, but were overtaken by those forces, who resolutely charged them, defeated them, and slew and tooke many of them prisoners.

Out of *Lancashire* it is also informed, that there is good hopes of gaining *Leverpoole* within a short time; for they write from *Manchester*, that it is so straitned, that cannot hold out ten dayes. They gained two peeces of Ordnance from the Enemy on *Werall* side in *Cheshire*; and they took *Berket* house belonging to Sir *Thomas Powell*, slew 14. and tooke forty of the enemy prisoners there, and they got also an hundred armes in that house, and after burnt it downe to the ground, whereby the enemy in *Leverpoole* is now quite deprived of relieefe.

On the 29. of *Septem.* the Enemy turned an hundred prisoners out of *Leverpoole*, which they had formerly taken from us. And we heare (saith the Letter) that when Sir *John Meldrum* returnes againe into the Country, he will besiege *Latham* House.

A Letter from *Monmouth*, dated *Septemb.* 30. Informeth thus; On friday last we had an alarme in our Quarters, killed twelve of the Welch Cavaliers, and took some Prisoners. The enemy hath lately stormed a Garrison of ours, lying about a mile from *Monmouth*, it was a house belonging to one Mr. *Milburn*, wherein were ten of our foot Souldiers, and two small Troopes, both consisting but of sixtie horse, with whom Powder and shot

ſhot being ſcant, a maide of the Houſe brought them a bagge full of fixe pound weight, and ſupplied our men with Lead out of the Glaſſe-windows, and molten Pewter, with which, together with Stones out of the houſe, and ſcalding water, they kept the Enemy off, untill we came to relieve them, then wee fell upon them, killed many of them, and purſued the reſt three miles: I never ſaw (ſaith the Writer) the Sword cut and deſtroy ſo many, ſo that for the preſent, I can give no account of the ſlaine, but they loſt great Commanders, Major *Somerſet*, Captaine *Backon*, and another Major, I ſaw ſtript naked. Captaine *Lewes* was taken Priſoner, and one and fourty Souldiers more; we beate all their horſe over *Winſter* bridge, where we retreated. In this ſervice wee loſt not one man, only two or three of ours were wounded, of which one, as is to be feared will dye, being ſhot in the Breaſt with haile-ſhot. Armes we had in aboundance, ſo that Muskets were ſold for ſix pence a peece. The *Welch* Rogues burnt two Ricks of Mr. *Milburnes* corne. Our Governour gave the Maide two Pieces for her Powder, and hath taken her into his Service, he alſo kiſſed her for the good ſervice ſhe did, and ſo did all the reſt of the Commanders, Thoſe that ſtood ſo bravely out in the Houſe, were Captain *Bailey*, of *Stroud Water* in *Glouceſterſhire*, and Lieutenant *Page*, a Scottiſh man.

The Enemies Commander in Chiefe there, was Sir *Trever Williams*, a Counceller at Law, of *Weſtminſter*, a buſtering blade; his horſe were ſome of Prince *Ruperts*, and his foot, poore forced VVelch-men, whom the horſe pricked forward with their ſwords points.

Generall *Haſtings* is like to be removed from his government of *Aſhby de la Zouch*, and another is to be made Commander of his Counties in his place; whereby it appeareth, that the Cavaliers begin to ſuſpect their own party.

A Letter from the Earl of *Mancheſters* Quarters, Dated, *Octobor* the Fourth, certifieth thus; VVe lie ſtill at *Redding*, recruiting our Army, as alſo expecting Orders from above. *Lincolnſhire* is in ſome danger, and I feare, the enemies power there will command us back. The laſt Sabbath and Munday, Sir *Thomas Glenham* with two thouſand Horſe, and 1500. Foot, lay at *Iſleford* in that County, and lie hovering ſtill about *Lindſey* coaſts, ſome of their Scouts were taken about *Huntington*.

The Aſſotiation hath by Letter deſired my Lord to move that way, but I rather conceive, he intends a Motion towards the *King*, who, as Letters to my Lord laſt night intimated, was to be at a generall Rendezvouz upon *Ligh* Common, where his whole body of horſe and Foot, together

gether with his Artillery were, which consisted of about twelve thousand, and they marched that night five miles; and Thursday night, Quarters were taken up for him within a few miles of *Shaftsbury*, and so farre as the Scouts can gather, his intention is for *Kent*, but wee are in Consultation how we may way-lay him, that we may cause him to ingage.

It is certainly informed, that the *Earle* of *Essex* horse are ioyned with Sir *William Waller* and his Army, which in the totall will make a body of about Eight thousand horse and foote, betweene whom and the *Earle* of *Manchesters* forces, the *Kings* Armie is like to be inclosed, if in advance towards the East part of the Kingdome.

The valiant Commander *Crasord*, Serieant Maior Generall to the Earl of *Manchester*, hath viewed all the workes about *Bazing* house, and with the addition of one Thousand men, hopeth quickly to take it.

The *Parliament* hath put out a severe Ordinance, that all souldiers under their pay, which shall quit one of their Armies, and goe to another, shall suffer death. And any Officer that shall wittingly receive such Souldiers, shall undergoe the Censure of the Martiall Court, &c.

Sir *William Brereton* hath fortified *Tarven*, four miles distant from *Chester*, and hath blocked up that City round, at a miles distance.

Letters from *Lyn* certifie, that the Cavilliers have taken the Towne of *Crowland* in *Lincolnshire*, which they Surprized by boats at unawares.

On Tuesday last in the afternoone the Court-Martiall sate in the *Guild Hall London*, where foure men were tried, *viz.* Captaine *Sippins*, who was centenced to be hanged, for endeavouring to betray the Isle of *Gernsy*.

Secondly, one *Pit* was centenced to be hanged for offering to betray *Rushall Hall* in Staffordshire to the enemy.

Tirdly, one *Jones* was also condemned for running from his Colours.

The fourth man being a Trooper, was also tried for running from his colours, but he was not centenced, and so the Court adjourned untill further Summons.

Printed according to Order, by *G. Bishop*,
Octob. 11. 1644.

FINIS.



ENGLANDS TROVBLES ANATOMIZED.

VVHEREIN

Is related the Riſe, Cauſe, beginning, unhappy progreſſe, of this uncivill VVar.

Illuſtrated in all the paſſages thereof, whence this malignancy firſt ſprang, which hath ſo rent and torne this late ſo flouriſhing Kingdome of ENGLAND.

Manifeſted from the beginning, to this preſent time.

Written by a Captaine, ſervant to His MAJESTY, who fights His Battels with the PARLIAMENT.

This is Licenſed and Entred according to Order.

LONDON,
Printed for *Richard Tomlins*, and are to be ſold at his houſe in Green Arbour, in the Old Baily,
1644.

BRITISH MUSEUM

To the truly Honourable, the two Vnanimous Indefatigable Bodies, the LORDS and COMMONS now Assembled in PARLIAMENT. Oct. 1644.

Most Honoured Lords and Gentlemen:

AS *I seeme to draw the Curtaine to looke upon so Grave and Iudicious an Assembly, whose every countenance beares about him a solid figure: I looke into my selfe how I have presumed to present unto Your high Wisdomes, so loose a parcell of papers, which my owne guilt pre-acts, as unworthy Your perusall: yet by Your humble pardons, as I am a member of Your Body of Warre, whose Battels I shall never decline, though opinion may sway me to be over stout to beg what I shall buy with my blood, imployment; howbeit that*

You may see I am not barren, or lye fallow in my faith, or want zeale to encourage all that fight such Battels, as the Battels of our God, our King and Country: I have made such use of my spare houres as to compose this ensuing Treaty, who led thereunto by a faithfull lover of the proceed of Parliaments, have published it, with presumption to dedicate unto so immense an eminent Body, as are both the Houses of Parliament, wherein, if my paines shall prove acceptable, I have wrought a good worke, such an one as shall tye me in all obligation, the inviolable servant, my Lords and Gentlemen of

Your high recorded Vertues,

By Oxford F. Corkayne

BRITISH MUSEUM

To

To his worthy Friend, the Author of this Book, Englands *Troubles Anatomized.*

Io: I would have Thee give thy Booke a way;
Let no man buy it, for what ſhall he pay?
Let it have no other price, vote, or name,
Then what gold counterpois'd, by friendſhip claime;
That all the cheapeſt too, ſince each man knowes
An April Cherry, or December Roſe
Are highly deem'd, when thy elaborate pen
Preſents moſt choicely to all ſorts of men
Her rarieties, wrought by ſo dexterous hand
As re-adornes this rude digeſted Land:
Roots out thoſe turbulent ſtalkes that did thruſt on
Miſguided Princes, butcher Action.
Thine the State Garden is, in which there ſprings
Poeſies for people, precipues for Kings:
The good and evill flower from whence the Bee
Doth hony draw, the Spider mercury,
Is planted here, and from thy abler ſtock
Cluſters of Reaſons ſtout, as hardeſt rock
Beats off malignant tumours from thy Vine,
Both fated with thy rich Falerno Wine:
May Prince and People in one lov'd embrace,
With Bells and Bonefires ring loud Truth and Peace.

E. H.

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THE ANATOMIE: OR, ENGLANDS TROVBLES ANATOMIZED.

The Epistle to the Souldierie, Commonalty, and Commonwealth.

My loved Country-men, and Fellow-Souldiers:

YEE that fight the Battaile of your God, your King, and your Country: I write not unto you that I beleeve you want a confirmation of your faiths, much beyond them on the contrary party; for I know you have received it, from farre more able Pens then mine: such as are the English Pope, the Popes Nuntio, the Popes royall favourite, the oath of Pacification, the mystery of Iniquity, with others more learnedly handled as I pay tribute unto without thought of parallell: yet knowing that bluntnesse and boldnesse best suits our profession, I have wrote unto you in our own native language, not to betray or subtily to deceive, but to re-enforce, betroth and strengthen you in what we are bound to seale with our bloods, our Countries immunities, such as our fore-fathers left us heires on, which we are bound to regard equall to any their patrimonies without declension of homage or obedience unto Majesty,

tor farre be that from any mans thought but to weed out such Caterpillers as have for long time sought to alienate the vertue of Kings, and to prey upon the liberty of the Subject, neither holding Lawes, nor Parliaments the founder of Lawes of any use, but to be wrested according to their appetites and private ends.

It is written in holy Writ, Souldiers be content with your pay; but we have a nearer interest, the justnesse of our cause to boot, which all times have ever allowed, *Pugna pro Patria*, wherein the ancient Romans were so precisely honourable as he was not held worthy the name of a true borne Roman that would not lay downe his life for his Countrey, we have then greater courage than of whom the Poet writeth:

Nulla fides pietasq́, viris qui castra sequuntur
Venalesq́, manus ibi fas ubi maxima merces.

The difference I confesse is very scrutinous that may puzle many to consider the niceties of eithers claime: the one demanding our loyalty as to our Sovereigne, the other as to our Country, which why the King should be against is the wonder, which albeit it be a straight path not passeable without difficulty, like the subtle distinguishing the Law of *Rome*, built on a hocus well nigh indiscernable, unlesse by a singular prospective glasse of high above reason, yet doubt I not but in some proportion to Anatomize so exactly as all may see, & seeing, know the rancour and venome that fostred our malignancie till it grew so infectious, as is like to be more dangerous then any plague, the Kingdome of *England*, yea the Monarchie of *Britaine* ever yet suffered under, thereby to apply such cure as may asswage so farre as we like natiye friends, may draw into the opinion of one potion for our greater welfare, to sip freely of the sincere physicke of individuall amity, like parents, allies and lovers, we preserve our selves together from either forraigne enemies, or neighbour treacheries: I have so neare as I may, suited to the meanest capacities on both sides, that those on our side may know the Religious duty due unto Majesty) as those on the other side may likewise know the awfull reverence due unto the Senate the Law-maker, Parliaments.

Our

OUr present separation I take to have thus arisen: When King *Charles* and his happier Father had called divers Parliaments under pretence of redresse for the Subject to regulate the Lawes, as to see that they were in their proper vigour they were instituted for, which was usually the care of our best Kings, who were thereby doubly crown'd at home, and abroad in fame and high applause, yet it here so happened our Parliaments had not the like successe in their times, there being little other use made of them, then to fill their Exchequers by monies and subsidies collected, which the Nation finding the bitternesse of, yet not daring to wrestle with Majesty, underwent a constrained silence, untill an occasion being offered by the Scots invading this Land, whereby we came to have two Armies on foot in the North of our clymate, which could not be either relieved or disbanded without the assistance of Parliament, whose grave wisdomes might best prevaile with the people for disbursements of money to salve the breach and pay the Armies (which Warre was of *Canterburies* hatching) the arreares of the Souldiery being beyond the bounds of the Kings Exchequer, or arbitrary power, or friends to satisfie, whereupon the King constrayned to call a Parliament, the Members of both Houses in their Paternall cares to the then oppressed people whom they had knowne to have groaned long under an arbitrary rule, most worthily, faithfully and wisely made this use of the Kings necessity, as to injoyne their Sovereigne by Act of Parliament to continue the new began Parliament for three yeares entire, or more at their pleasure, whereby they were able to ensure the Subject they were able to give them some redresse in their grievances: having tyed the King past dissolving or proroguing at his favourites fancies. The King fallen into this Edy of fortune, seeing his two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland* facing each other, ready for the assault, neither himselfe, nor the incendiary of this Warre, *Canterbury*, knew how to disburthen so great consequences, or shake this embrio of neighbour division, wherein would ensue great perill, but by giving way unto their requests of a Triennall Parliament, without which grant the King would only have served his owne turne, and then he and

Canterbury, *Strafford*, *Winibancke*, &c. would have fallen to their old vomit againe, of laying sufficient burthens upon the people untill it had come to insurrection.

The Parliament thus advanced began to looke cheerfully both on Prince and People, their first aime being to re-estate the King in the love of his people, which he was at that present very sicke on, such siniſter courses had beene dealt unto them by some hee principally trusted, who, so they might make themselves eminent in fame and purse, disputed not to render the good King odious: besides there was much discontent and grumble upon the so sudden fruitlesse dissolution of the late former Parliament, which the pretenders for the King aforenamed, had most politickly stifled even in the mouth of the wombe.

The King now in this new unaccustomed change of rule makes at the first faire shew of corresponding with the Senate, whereupon soone followed the damming of Monopolies, which if not granted of free grace, yet they usually melt as snow before the Sunne, when they appeare before Parliaments, for all actions of Kings terminate either with their lives, or with the non-approbencie of Parliaments, but Acts of Parliament untill cause be by the same power to repeale, continue, as the rule and guide of Kings successively.

Many other Acts of grace did he confirme I deny not, all which were as thankfully accepted by the Senate, and they as studious to gratifie, unto whom had he referred himselfe and his, he that is now in wretched, wretched discontented misery, to see the calamities of his people, had been ere this on the Pyramide of happinesse.

This Session now on foot, the good and faithfull Patriots, the Trustees or Feoffees in trust for the people, men chosen of the best integrities, and most approved of every County, who were reciprocally in Religion and conscience obliged to respond their trust, no sooner had declared themselves in great faithfulnesse to reduce the Laws to our ancient liberties, with addition or diminution as cause should require, but severely carefull therein, were as soone attempted to be stifled by the viperous whisperings of the dangerous Roman Catholicke, our owne haughty grieved

Cler-

Clergie, some neare the King filled with inward guilt, to this day unquestioned publickly, yet they know the Parliament would purge them on: and in the last place, such faulty officers as had their dependencie on Majesty, such as will be found the fomenters of all his troubles, and our distractions, whom not to flatter, were such as deserved to have their skins flead off and nailed on their seats of Judicature, as was *Oetanes* the Persian officer by doome of *Cambises* then King: these surprised evill ones, their breasts boyling with feare and jealousies to be over strictly questioned by Parliament past hope of acquitting, flocke unto the King restlesse, early and late in numbers, as Dawes or Priests lye chattering about great mens houses, buzzing in his Royall eares; that he had now given a power unto his Parliament, would make them greater then himselfe, that how poore a King must he be, even a King and no King, would he suffer himselfe to be controled by his subjects, that not only himselfe, but his posterity was lost, that his Successours Kings of *England* would curse him for diminishing Prerogative.

Thus they play their game, with many other such like inchantments, all which wrought too much on tender Majesty, to second which, the unister subtile Jesuit (who had laine long dormant for an opportunity) began now to busseil, to bestir himselfe, he therefore thrusts on boldly to the Queen, who had (through the Kings much love) his soul in custody to rub on this disgrace while it smarted, which deluded, she with a kind of fond joy prosecutes being before a sworne servant of the Popes, and even at *Rome* kissing his Toe in her longings.

In the third place, our haughty Clergy whom the Parliament had begun somewhat roughly withall, they fearing to bee eclipsed in their dignities or lessened in their vast revenues, they joyne with the Jesuits, resolved that no Religion can bode them worse then that which sought to shorten them in their Lordly splendours, to curbe, seclude, and restraine them in their wonted luxuries, choosing rather to be all Romists, and that the Nation should bow to *Baal*, then to commit themselves to the hazard of Parliament. There is no doubt therefore but they muster up all the power they could possibly make, Noble, Gentle, or simple to

the King and Queen to vilifie the proceed of Parliament, ſo that the King was filled with daily acclamations of every thing wreſted to the worſt ſenſe, ſo cunningly woven as might very well trouble a ſecond *Solomon* to ravell out, which indeed he never did, but they gaine ſtill upon him, untill they wrought him to that infatuated condition to throw defiance on his ſupreme Councell, and to expoſe himſelfe to the mercileſſe mercie of the ſword, to fright the ſoules of his people with blood and horrour, which counſell yet cries to heaven for vengeance, and will as well affright, aſtoniſh, and terrifie the ſoules of ſuch incendiaries.

It was bootleſſe here to bid the Jeſuit laugh, for he now left his ſleeve, and laughed openly to ſee the Clergie of *England* in his chafe, and to ſee things worke on ſo croſſe one againſt another, hoping it would make well for their ſo long plotted villanie, the ſubverſion of this Land to Idolatrie, which who could doe the Pope that ſervice were ſure to be canonized, beſides they hope thereby to make his hallownes the great engroſſer of Chriſtendome, they therefore haſten to ſend him word that their ſtratagem had taken fire, and another kinde of man then *Guido Faux*, was to be eternized; it was therefore a great concerne that his hallow Holineſſe did ſend them variety of all the inſtruments of *Rome*, Buls, Breves, pardons, indulgences, diſpenſations, or what ever was in uſe there, to be imployed here, for the indefatigable binding of the Queen with all her adherents, ſuch as ever had, or hereafter might taſte of her power, or the intereſts ſhe had in the King, whereof ſhe had already given teſtimony by promotion unto divers; this practice was not in action more preſent then vehement, for before thoſe two Northerne Armies before recited, could be cleered and disbanded, an attempt was made by thoſe worthy members of perdition: Duke *Jermin*, for ſo he muſt be, he well deſerves it, *Percie*, *Pollard*, *Suckling*, *Oneale*, *Barthes*, &c. to bring up both thoſe Armies to joyne in one, in the Kings name to ſuppreſſe the Parliament and City with all their adherents, the Scots being promiſed for their reward, as ſaith mine Authour, the foure Counties of *Weſtmerland*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and the Biſhoprieke of *Durham*, to be entailed upon their Kingdome as their proper inheritance for ever,

be-

beſides the plunder of *London* and 300000l. paid unto them in moneyes in *Newcaſtle*, and the Engliſh Army doubtleſſe ſome anſwerable preſſers, all which prevailed not to corrupt their faiths, for which we may bleſſe God, whom if he had not only prevented it, we had gone to maſſe, to maſſe-hall before this day at *Pauls*, and all *London* over, compleated in our Beads, Avemaries, Croſſes, Bels, Books, Surplices, Copes, &c. whereas on the contrary, we may now hope this Kingdome is ſo well confirmed and ſtrengthned in the Proteſtant Religion, as it will endure nothing that ſavours of Popery, the relicts of the Whore: Nay I am confident that even thouſands of thoſe that fight the Kings battells, when they ſhall finde out the Popiſh Army, abetted by the Popes vaſſalls walking on Iriſh feet, infected with bloody hearts, whereof they may read at large the commoting of the Iriſh Rebellion, and ſee the drift therein in the Engliſh Pope, or myſtery of Iniquity, are ſo ſound to their Country, and their Religion, as they will in this War leave him for whom they would otherwiſe ſacrifice their lives.

So that the Queen and her Jeſuiticall Abetters will finde it the beſt way to huddle up a peace, for their combinations are by Gods goodneſſe once more brought to light, and will be prevented, maugre the power of *Rome* or Roman aid; for what can keep us aſunder at ſuch diviſion, but ſuch lurking Engeneers that worke all this while under ground to levell if it were poſſible in their fathoming with the earth, this goodly building the two Kingdomes of *England* and *Scotland*.

This deſigne thus fruſtrate, theſe eſpeciall lovers of their Kingdomes welfare aforenamed, the cleane contrary way, fall into one worke together, not being farre before ſeparate in an unanimous purpoſe to poyſon the King, not to prey upon his vitalls, but more miſerably to gall him with the itch of his Prerogative, which they preſſe ſo ardently, that if he may not enjoy it after their maner of demands, he ſhall never more enjoy himſelf, whom albeit I may feare his worſer ſhare is yet to enſue, yet doe believe he poſſeſſes but little himſelfe in true content, I think him ſo clement a Prince; how can he, is it probable, to ſee his Kingdomes ſo deſolate, with ſo vaſt effuſion of blood and maſſacre of his

people,

people? where which side gets the better to day or yesterday, he is still the same incomparable loser, for innocent blood on the one party, like the hungry parched earth gaping for moisture calls loud for vengeance that will be bitter at departing this world.

Howbeit the King philtered by these Gnathoes, looks not upon the discreet precepts of his judicious father, nor regards the cautious walkings of his predecessor Kings, who made it not their busines to disgust their chiefe councels, but rather to comply with them, knowing the danger of drawing the common displeasure upon them, or considered he ought how his people were bound to maintaine the legall priviledges of Parliament, but more inclined to his arbitrary swinge he had been so long lulled up in, as he hardly did, or did desire to know other, or depart from that which was so deare unto him, he therefore too soon, too hastily taketh fire, lending subsequently his liberall eares to all counsell that might prosecute his new hatched purpose of keeping his subjects under, holding it now the surest way of government by force rather then love: A very false position, and a great distracter of content.

Princes are more incident then meaner degrees to have their parasites to applaud or cry up what ever they fancie, so that Machiavell seeing the King warm'd thirsting after somewhat that might be like tyranny, seeing his eyes bent to controle his Parliament & people to pay him tribute more of fear then love, is at hand, telling him the way to suppresse this pretended growing evill, and to break the neck of his Parliament, was likely (though indeed a most confused way to hell) as the sequel will conclude, to accuse the Lord *Kimbolton* now Earle of *Manchester*, with other five principall Members or Axeltrees of the House, in no lesse then high Treason at a blow, their names are worthy of never dying Record, Sir *Arthur Hasterigge*, Mr. *Denzel Hollis*, Mr. *John Hampden*, Mr. *William Strode*, and Mr. *John Pym*, who though named last, was not inferiour to any the other in love, and unwearied toile in his Countries behalfe, one that had been many past years of severall Parliaments, who laid downe his snowie haires full of knowledge, godlinesse and zeale unto his God, his King, and his Country; there is no question but this strange unexpected charge

from

from their Sovereigne was so uncouth as shooke the frame of both the Houses of Parliament, as well it might that was levelled to overthrow them, for those only five were select, which by how much the more faithfull they had been in discharging their duties, by so much the more were they become pretendedly odious to that faction, that must either presse Prerogative, or themselves to Tyborne.

The Treason was not proffered, or could be guessed at by the Commons, who saw on the other side which way the Kings intentions bowed to joyne with such as had inveagled him to set on broach this Treason, not at all entring into the unsafety of contesting with Parliaments and People, not taking warning from the actions of his predeceessour Kings that had wantoniz'd with the Subjects liberty, or had he leasure or any such friend to tell him the beginning of an intestine War, might not onely entangle, but as well endanger himselfe, his issue and Kingdomes, albeit he may by this time see hee hath acquitted three brave Countries to stand in condition little better then Lord Chancellour of *Oxon.*

Great hopes there was by the whisperers of this villany, that this pretence of Treason was of force to startle or quell all proceedings of Parliament, to check or daunt all freedome of speech in their Countries cause; for if the Members of both Houses were so easily lyable to accusation of Treason, who would then dare to speake freely for the danger of being called unto accompt hereafter? and most certaine it is, had those Members beene carried away out of the House upon that pretence, the Parliament had boene in effect nullified: for take away freedome of speech founded on the word *Parle a mentem*, and let that be presumed Treason, and where is then the vertue or vigour of such Sessions, for such Sessions will then be in servitude to Majesty, and then as good no Parliament, for where is then the Subjects claime, if in the power of any one breast?

On these bases began the externall intrinsique ground of all King *Charles* his Troubles, which we are to fear will evilly much out doe Queen *Elizabeths*, leave a fame unto succession in bloody characters; thus did the King trifle away his happinesse, when

this too infortunate Councell, which he ſo eagerly ſwallowes, proves the very hinge on which depends the weight of our calamities, it is the materiall ſubſtance of this yet unknown, unrecorded copy of a wofull Nation.

The people as I have preſented unto you before, finding the ill ſucceſſe of anteceding Parliaments, things regiſtred in their memories as exhauſted from their treaſuries, where filled with an unuſuall joy to ſee their native Countrey, which every man naturally loves, which had been heretofore ſo ſtrained and depreſt, to be under Covenant from their Sovereigne for a Parliament of ſome terme of continuation, which much their felicities in their ſeverall encreaſe of plenty, traffick, riches, arts and ſciences did imploy, here they did apprehend their joyes budding towardly on, like to beare fulneſſe of proſperity; yet what ſulphurous winde might happen to blaſt them they knew not, it ſo falls out the Sun that roſe ſo cleere in the morne, overſets ere night, and a Cloud in which there was fire and brimſtone, burnt downe even with the earth the comfort they were ſo contracted unto; their Joyes were now huſh, and their feare haſtned on, in the ſence of the enſuing danger that muſt of neceſſity follow this accuſation, appearing unto them like Ravens, over infected houſes, that bode nought but ruine; for now they began to collect chimeraes of feare and jealouſie, ſuch as are too tedious for paper; not without remembrance, that the contention of many paſt yeeres between man and man, had no other refuge then Weſtminſter Hall, where with much wrangling and corruption, it was oftentimes coſtly determined: but this was a Court ſuperlative, without which, King nor people could chalenge ought; neither were theſe Statutes moderne, or ſuch as could by bribery be converted to private uſe, but heerein was contayned the written relict juſtice of ſome hundreds of yeeres gleaned from all the ſupreame Councels of Europe, and were the Subjects propriety and birth-right, as much as the Crowne the Kings.

Upon theſe impreſſions, the people who are not eaſily curb'd in what they will, made an head, and came in uncontrolled numbers to Weſtminſter, with glad feet, hearts, tongues, and hands, to vote all as one man, that if this Parliament were diſtracted, deafened,

deafened, or embaſed, they were all loſt for ever, like a drop of raine fallen into a River. This now by the King, Queene, and their Faction, was termed a dangerous hubbub, ſuch an one as could not be without hazzard of perill to his perſon, or his, or diminution to his juſt claimes. I confeſſe, I have often wondred heereat, to ſee ſuch preſent enſuing valiant Majeſty, frighted at ſuch a bug-beare: ſurely, had that beene the peoples ayme, or any reflection that way, the King had beene then or afterward, at his dining in London with Sir *George Garret*, the then Sheriffe, ſecured paſt his reſcue; I may ſee cauſe why the Members of Parliament might feare the multitude, but none for the King: for they were bold with divers Noble men, and others, requiring Iuſtice, as if they doubted an Alienation.

I would have every wiſe man that loves worth, his Country, or Religion, to pauſe heere a while, and debate with himſelfe, the cauſe of this Hectique Feaver, why ſuch a willingneſſe ſhould be found in the King, to derive from hence an exception of ſo triviall riſe, yet ſuch a one as muſt without further provocation, ſerve his turne to fling defiance on his Parliament and people; and not ſo ſatisfied, but under pretence of a guard, to proceed to Armes: what had his loving Subjects done to offend him, they put up and remitted divers actions of his? Nor required they any thing from King or Parliament but juſtice, their inheritance, which they were both bound to give them the Recorded Lawes of the Kingdome, which his Majeſty, together with his Parliament had in truſt for them, and could not depart from without violation of an oath in covenant with God; which to infringe, might counterpoiſe the ſcale of Adultery in Queenes. Now heerein they weeld the ſtricter, in reſpect they had beene ſo ſore formerly oppreſſed by arbitrary mulcts, taxes and impoſitions, ſuch as in our predeceſſours times had cauſed a civill mutiny at the leaſt, which mulcts were carryed at that height, as neither Divine, Iudge, Lawyer, nor Councellor of State, durſt oppoſe or contradict. For if any man had a mind to be honeſt, who had temptations ſufficient to the contraty, he was ſoone ſilenced by Writ of Eaſe: the King in all this was meerely abuſed; for theſe collections came not to his Coffers; they made him onely their Property to countenance

what they plotted, and divided the ſpoile on themſelves: neither was the King advertiſed how much they preyed upon his reputation and Kingly clemency, diverting his peoples affections from him, equall to tyrannize me; for great were the inſolencies of the High Shriffes in gathering of Ship-moneyes, forcibly robbing, weele call it taking away poore mens, even next doore to Almes mens goods, their whole ſubſiſting; ſuch as Bedding, a Gloake, a Hog, or a ſmall Runt or Heyfer, the very abſtract of wealth of their whole time; notwithſtanding which cruelties, it fell hard enough upon the High Shirriffes, for they payd a good part to make up the ſumme for their loving friends ſake, the firebrands of this new deviſed petty Laſſery, or rather Burglary: burning in the hand *Francis Cottington* is not a competent chaſtiſement: burning in the hand is for a Rogue, and you are a Lord, and ſo is Sir *John Banks* hard by Lord high Treaſurer, and chiefe Bancqueere of all the Monopolie monies of great Britain: Nay, he has not left his Country and his conſcience for nought; I promiſe you he is like to be a Banke beyond the Banks of Nyle: No Bankrupt *Bancke*, that's Apocryphall, leave that to weyhey *Winibancke* that Jade: but happy is he, oh *Bancke*, that ſhall ſit upon the skirts of thy Bancks to heare not the Nightingale, but the *Finch* ſing moſt rarely, doloriferouſly, untill the very *Heath* grow incapable of ſuch a Tune. There was one *Noy* a good Lawyer, but did much annoy the Subject: this *Noy* was an honeſt man untill he favour'd of promotion, and then his brain was famed with ſo many projects as his head turned round like a Wind-mill; he was then a Ship-maſter, a Sope-boyler, what you will; his Gall broak in ſhort time, for he played the foole and dyed *ex tempore*, ſo loſt his preferment here; but is ſaid to have a very good place elſewhere: for he is reputed Mr. Jaylor of Purgatory, a better place then Lord chiefe Juſtice of the Kings Bench or Common-Pleas; for there is no Papiſt that goes that way, but he calls in and baits there, who payes him his admiſſion Fee, and Fees againe when they are prayed out; for the place is ſo pleaſant, no man can leave it untill he be prey'd forth: the poore Souldier that paſſes that way to have his conſcience clarified, he has but little money, he therefore gives him an Ammunition Fee, ſuch as he has, neither

is it without need, for many of your Souldiery have their soules very largely filthy here; aske the plunderer Prince Robber else: I crave pardon for being so bold with the dead, but I doe it to certifie the living: Yet I beleeve those that have the King on their side, have rub'd their faces with so much brasse as nothing shames them, King Suckers as they are.

Who so shall discreetly deliberate, will finde it was that spark Ship-money that hath kindled this inextinguishable flame that will in short time burne downe all the felicity of Great Britaine; in which deformed labyrinth, one chiefe work-master was that gallant brave Statist, who had he bent his study for the good of the Republique, and as himselfe said at his end served his God, so truly as his King, his memory had never perisht, the unquelled *Strafford*: one other, the yet unhanged Arch Patriarchall Arch *William Laud*, with his fellow fiend *Wren*, whom if they scape long unpunisht condignely, I shall thinke his Hallowneſſe hath a walking Spirit in this Kingdome; they are not worthy of mercy that are so fordid to impaire or curtaile the liberty of the Subjects: nor is he worthy to live by the English blessing, that would deprive posterity of what themselves were borne unto: they are like improvident parents, that to satisfie their owne unreasonable appetites, bankrupt succession.

Me thought I saw the poyson mixing, when I saw how that Fox, *Faux Canterbury* had couſened honeſt Doctor *Juxon* of his soule in making him Lord Treasurer of England, a dignity that on my conscience the good man would willingly have fled from, for I take him to be one the least ambitious of all the Prelaticall Clergy: there is no head so greene that writes Man, can think his Metropolitane Grace so simple, that he knew not it was an abomination in the servant of the most High, especially in so principall a charge, as to have a whole Sea under his Authority, to bee at one and the same time the servant of men officially in temporall affaires: It is a faith Apostaticall, fit to be spewed out of Christian congregations; I presume it is at one and the same time as lawfull to have two wives, or more, as I am apt to thinke this promotion was never sought by the Bishop of *London*; so I presume it will never hereafter be sought by any Church-man:

No, no, it was my Lord *Lawds* policie that so supreame an Officer as the Lord Treasurer was should have been his darke lanthorne whereby he would have set forward toward *Rome*, to have gone in and out into a Cellour of more villanie then that of the powder Treason, of all those hatchings of Eighty eight, or all that hell could fathome.

This Kingdome like others, and as all states must, hath tasted the change of Princes who have beene diversly qualified, some wise, some covetous, some valliant, some pious, some timerous, some too too docile; yet among all I find none to meet a freer concourse of his peoples loves then doth King *Charles* the first, had he a just Warre to engage their blouds in; but when the justnesse of his Warre shall faile him, he must looke to have his people fail him, for their infatuation it is to me assured cannot hold long: for Popish *Patrike* the Irish-man, who durst not to have quetcht, had he not seen us divided, and he to have received warrant for his so doing, will turne their stomacks, and make them sensible how the Pope strives to climbe by their bloud to overrunne this Kingdome, and so to be the whole ingrosser of Christendome: for I shall boldly conclude that man to have no soule, no renowned blood, or heroique action or education that discerns it not most palpably: let them preach what they will to the contrary, our high minded Clergy are too much concerned to be considered or heard in this case: our too too docile Kings were, especially the wanton and misguided *Edward* and *Richard* the seconds, who so farre provoked the people in abusing their liberties, as not only in their own persons paid deare therefore, being both untimely murthered, but left their infamies behinde them, as presidents of terrour to their successours.

Neither did the better qualified Kings thinke they had done enough to rule with the love of their people according to their oaths so taken, to administer the use of the great Charter unto them, though without that they would not rule, but thought themselves respectively bound to doe somewhat that might be an eminent good for the Subjects, such as might be called their Act by name, such as might declare to posterity what kinde of munificent, magnificent Princes they were: neither did *Richard* the third,

third, for his bloody treacheries whereby he reached the Crown held a very bad man, yet himselfe held it not safe to be a bad King; for he knew the multitude to be a many headed Monster, with whom there was no contesting forcibly, the only bridle was policie and love: but King *Charles* meets with no friend that tells him the danger of the losse of his people, which no way was so probable to doe as by disgusting his Parliament so, that having rashly taken fire on he drives the accusation, having beene at the Houses in an hostile manner to demand such Members aforenamed, confirmed that if either he held a correspondencie with his Parliament, or suffered their proceedings to goe on, he must be straitned, if not solely checked in his regall power; the affrighted Members, as I said before, knowing that to have given way to the Kings fury, had been a present utter dissolution of Parliament, as that which was neither fit to be demanded on the one party, nor condiscended unto on the other, most humbly sought a further consideration.

The displeased King no more successfull in his unreasonable unwarranted demand, being to give so blanke an account to his Queene, who with her adherents lay in wait for the fruit of that journy, which she perceiving so successeles, as saith mine Author, was much, that is very highly enraged, insomuch, she past uncivill actions toward the King, which I shall spare to denominate in duty I owe his person, in whom I had rather cover then discover a blemish; but sure I am, she was none of King *Henry* the eights Queenes, he had then sworne body, body of God: my School-men tell me it is, *hic Rex, & hæc Regina*; but thou wilt have it *hæc Rex, & hic Regina*, or *hæc & hic* at the least: Hah, me-thinks that head becomes her not, since she is weary of it, hee'd cure her quickly.

It me seems great failing in Princes, or men of honour, or charge in the State, to have women, though never so deare unto them, to intermeddle or be familiar with such mens counsells, especially in State or Warre designes, which must of necessity be beyond their experiment, *ergo*, beyond their judgings or assistings *versus*; every man so inclined is suspected, and doth much abate his full lustre; let them confine themselves to be pleasant at bed

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and board, imploy their other time in education of their children, and their domesticke affaires; I will not awaken them that rest, yet I say, God forbid the daughter of such a mother should either matrizare or matrixare, for the world knowes what a busie body she was, such an one that set dissention where ever she came; neither say I by whom misled: but the King in himselfe not vitious nor thirsting after blood, yet he resolves by warlike force, fall what will fall, to overthrow his sole happinesse, his Parliament: he therefore draws his men of War about him, carouses them at White-hall, then in short time leads them to Windsor: it was such time that the Sword had been long sheathed in England, peaceable and blessed England, so that the City and Suburbs were full of needy Cavalry, such as had either eaten their swords, as the Frenchman saies, *l'aye manger mon espee*, or the rust had eaten into them, people long unacquainted with monies, which they knew Warre would bring forth, they were therefore easily apt for any sedition, any first call: had it been a *Wat Tyler*, or *Jack Straw*, never tell them of the cause, tell them of the money: if there needed any thing else to instigate them, they knew by following the King if they outlived the War, they should have second rewards, provided they were conquerours; and this account hath many of them given unto me themselves, who sithence lye full low; yea divers at that time, such as were knowne Souldiers have been met in the streets, and monies given them to follow the King, themselves knew not from what hand.

The King thus in readinesse gets him soone from Windsor to Theobalds, from thence to Royston, thence to Newmarket; to Newmarket, he was followed with humble Petitions by the Lords and Commons, that he would be pleased to come back to his Parliament & People, otherwise the generall good of the Republick would suffer diminution for want of his Majesty their Head; but such Petitions and humble intreaties were but in vain presented, for he had determined within himselfe to try the chance of War, of which he had not as then tasted the smart on; and had besides great assurance from his men of War, and other his abetters never to doe: the poore rebellious Round-heads, as they termed us, were surrounded and blowne downe by the breath of their valiant

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ant nostrills, as appeares at this day, by Gods assistance, most liberally to the contrary.

Yet for all these valiant brags, the King thinks it not safe to commence his purpose too neare London, for he had seen and heard the Counties adjacent to the Parliament, did flocke in troops and numbers daily to testifie their zeales to the truth, by his absence eclipsed, if not affronted; whereupon he might well doubt any present succour in the Southerne parts; he therefore draws downe North, as farre as Yorke and Yorkshire; where under the pretence of a guard for his Royall person, which innocencie never needs, nor doe I see how he should need it more now then heretofore; yet by that pretence he musters up the affections of that County, whom albeit he findes divided, yet he found a light headed party professing their service sufficient to make a beginning to lead on his designe, which now began to break forth to be a Warre that he was necessitate unto; by which light-headed party animated, he from thence posts to Nottingham, where he claps up his Standard Royall, that who so conformes not unto, is a Traytor, and his life and goods confiscate; then he elevates his new conceived fancies, crying out fire and faggot, run Round-heads, run, catch me if you can.

The Parliament upon his first differting them, together with his coynes at Newmarket, knew well what the King intended; who wisely saw it was not spetious Declarations or Messages that would prevaile, so were forced to make the like haste to Armes, or else the King would have been prepossessed of all the strongest holds, Castles, Forts, Magazines, Shipping and Ordnance in the Kingdome; which might have been sore disadvantage to their cause, and the trust they had of the peoples lives and welfares; whom if they by over-light or too much indulgence had caused to suffer, they had worthily borne the scorne and shame of all Parliaments, besides the never to be redeemed envy of the Commonalty. It was therefore high time that they appoint an able Generall to manage their constrained affaires, to secure the peoples lives and liberties; for which purpose none could bee found more dexterous then his now excellence, that most excellent Prince, *ROBERT* Earle of *Essex* and

Ewe, whose very name, his Fathers vertue and his owne, had taken deep root in the peoples affections: I say not there might be happily an unwillingnesse in him to intercede in so unnaturall a Warre, yet seeing the compulsion thereof, God Almighty put in his heart to become the grand Patriot of his Kingdome; not to injure Majesty, but to reduce him to his prisline happinesse; to which he had no sooner condiscended, but thousands of people with insatiate joy, with loud shoutings and acclamations did reverence the name of *Essex*, Generall for the King and Parliament; yea such as were but the very grissels of man, such as had some time to serve in condition of Apprentices forlooke their Masters and Trades to beare their humble shares, with the high renowned honoured *Essex*, in their Countries liberties, and liberties of Parliament: whom God hath hitherto prospered most successively together, where the King can boast nothing of victory, either in Field or Town, but his losse hath still been summ'd up greater; whom if you consider in his losses, I dare affirme at his highest number, hath lost them twice over. They shall doe well carefully to preserve that body they now have, whereof most are sore'd men, which if they spend too hastily, make them food for Parliament Balls, let them looke never to have the like Army of natives againe: observe in all this great vulture of blood, that it hath not awakened the King out of his lethergie, or drawne a lob, a sigh, or teare from him: His inchantment hangs upon him from which he cannot depart; notwithstanding his infinite severall losses, wherein who so shall compute, will finde them as improsperous and short, as they are short in that horrid damned cause they manage against us: I confesse their gaine of the City of Bristol was the greatest losse this side ever had, which I am to feare will be felt while the King is able to weild a sword; I doubt not but for the taking of that, the King would have thought his Subjects on this side his best Subjects, and have beene with us before this day.

But to returne from whence we came, that we may *gradatim*, satisfie the Reader in every particular; the King having clapt his Standard up, he sounds his Trumpets so loud as all the Land might heare, then what calamities were to ensue to them that were not obe-

obedient? There is no doubt but such an action would plunder, you stagger the opinions of the best men, even those whose hearts were with the Parliament; for sayes one, doe but read what a character of terrour there is, our lives and goods confiscate, where on the contrary part, if we take part with the King, to whom we owe our Allegiance, we are sure of severall promotions; there is honour and office at hand to us and ours, what need we care if the Kingdome suffer, so we and ours thrive; besides my Lord and my Land-lord such an one is with the King already, he will helpe me to bee sure, Is't warrant the Is't be Sir *Iohn*, and my blacke Lasse a Ladie; This very Bubble, this inconsiderate fiery vapour, indeserved honour, has alter'd thousands. It is most true that Kings are by power given unto them from Parliaments, the Spring heads from whence all honour flowes, yet honour acquired upon so deare bought tearmes as infidelity to one's Countrie, in my opinion beautifies no man, no not the impudent Lord of Yarmouth, *Quae Tibi Mary*.

These doting fools that gaped so after honour and promotion, never enter into thought what it was to abet the King in an intestine Warre, or what a loving event would be, or that they were to give an account of such delinquencie unto a Parliament, or regarded the ruine of their Country, they cry let us have honour, though we dye for it; aske my Lord *Byron*, *Hopton*, or *Langdorough*, with the rest, else some whereof have already cast up their accounts: the King may be liberall in his new creations and additions of Honour, he hath begunne a worke will lop downe as fast as they put the props and supporters of his strength; because of these naked Round-heads, there is none of you but happily have knowne a Braggadocia fellow goe into the field, premising to whip his Antagonists breech, yet never came back alive; beware! Play of these humble minded men, they are fore't to fight or else their all erode, their Country, must suffer, as it will be ours; but I am more then confident not totally perish.

Now it behoves ye Gentlemen and ancient lordings (for the upstare Lords have not yet played out their game they venture so desperately for) that they meane them that ye call vulgar contemptible Commonalty, should have Roman spirits to stand for

their Countries Franchises, when such gay fellowes as ye are, have the inside of your soule turn'd outward, that dare not quetch for feare to rouse the Lions Lioness: ye run away barbarous as ye are to the course of your posteritues: It is not your consciences that guide you to side with Majesty to this malignancie: it was your avarice first brought you in, where now your are fastened; neither is it the King you feare, but the Kings King, the Queene, made so in her bondage, bound in fetters, gyves and chaines, never to depart from her obedience to that Puppey the Pope, whose cause is now on broach, which if yon be sufficiently drunk withall, she flatters you with imaginary dignities; thus hath the game wrought hitherto, which I hope is now well nigh slaked, the violence abated, for our trusty friends with their blew Bonnets will not see us suffer in so miserable condition as some hope to preserve their lives by.

I have now with your patience debated some few accidentall meanes of this Warre though I shall conclude in all I can doe, I doe but *Tythe, mynt and cumyn*: for the internall cause lyes yet inscrutable past finding out, or will be ever, unlesse by meanes of prayer and penetencie: for certaine I am, the breach is wrought to that height of obstinacie on both sides, the King and People being dead drunke in the lethargie of sinne, as neither King nor People did they incline, could reconcile or allwage, while every sinne lyes in great dung heaps at his owne doore; no, no, it is justly feared that high hand that sets a period to this Nation, is beyond the policy or power of man to rectifie or atone; I will not say beyond the contrition of man; for God will have mercy when he will have mercy: so that until King and People put on sackcloth and ashes, with bowed, vowed, joint humiliations; let no man put trust in Embassadors or other Mediators, some whereof it is not unlike may put things further out, nor ever hope for an atonement in what is not yet begun, to what is to ensue, unlesse God only. God open the understanding of the King and his stiffe-necked generation about him, that they understand the weight of Parliaments, and policy of Antichrist, who lyeth in wayt, whose sword is drawne to cut us all off: provided every one of the faithfull Catholicke souldiers have his Crucifixe, and

his holy Beads about him, or elſe the poore Iriſh man, the Popes Spaniel, his beſt ſetting Dogge, will be in a moſt lamentable and pitifull pickle.

The plenty of food ſold in our ſtreets and ſhambles, does no leſſe then ſignifie a non preſervation ſtore, than a dearth, a famine: then will not ſuch miſery and naſtineſſe beget an infection, that infection a plague? Then have not we malignancy enough to keepe on foot the ſword, to the great vaſture of man and mankind? May not we then looke for a Forreigne enemy, when we are on our knees? Oh brave change of a bleſſed Kingdome! that flowed with milke and honey, like the land of Canaan, to become a den of theeves, murtherers and homicides. Let every man, while it is called to day, call to minde the inſtigaries of his ſinne, which by how much the more he hath ſinned, by ſo much the more he may make his peace with his good God, in the teares of true contrition.

The Women I could wiſh ſome the more vertuous Matrons might be Lampes of Chaſtity unto the other, for they are ſuch libertines in this Nation as makes us become a ſcorne unto all others: the Court Ladies laying blame on the Citizens wives, the Citizens wives on the Court Ladies, the Country dames, gentle and ſimple thinking Advowtry as harmleſſe a crime as the others, made it ſo frequent, as ſome ſtrangers have ſayd, The Stewes in Rome or Italy, were not more familiar then Advowtry in England. Citizens cuckolding the Court, and the Court the City, by conſent upon the matter: nor would your blacke Coat, to be ſure, loſe his ſhare therein; for one of them, a married man, got the Miſtriſſe and the Mayd with childe both in the ſpace of halfe an houre.

Some your more ſpatterbrayned Cavaliers, have endevoured that way to put an opprobrious taunt upon our Generall, but hee needed not to have fetched his conceit ſo farre, to have come unto our Army, for in his owne he might have found ſome more neerer Wittallancy. The faſhion they ſay, at Oxford, runs more upon the Wittall, than the Cuckold; and what faſhion great perſons beget, the meaner will imitate; our Generall hath this for aſſurance, that he hath no ſlime illegitimate, begot by a Horſema-

ster, Keeper, Creature, to inherite his Lands or Royalties; to they may spare our Generall and lose nothing by it: he is one whose personall vertue envy cannot detract; a Loyall liegeman, one that would serve the King with more faithfulnesse then his parasites about him; so would thousands more on this side, in any cause, but this; wherein a man must sell his birth-right for a messe of pottage, in betraying himselfe unto himselfe in sottering the subversion of his native Country: for we are assured the Parliaments being victors, as it is not to be doubted, it will redound infinitly to the King and Kingdomes behoofe; but shall the power fall into the Kings party without checke of Parliament, hugging such vipers in his bosome as he doeth, Farewell to Religion, Liberty, and all: Rather then see which day, it is better we be all sacrificed into atomes, that so at least we may preserve posterity. So I leave the women for *Livy* further to illustrate, who *de Julia loquitur in hac verba: Initia turbandi magna imperia à fœminis primariis velut vetitis proficisci & mandatis superiorum*, *ac proinde ille sunt vel maxime cohibendæ vel ab imperium deponendæ, ut quietum sit imperium & respublica.*

I may not omit the City and Suburbs of London, the grand Metropolis, not only of this Kingdome, but of many, our nursling Mother; whose beauteous breasts gives sucke to all other our Cities, Townes, Burrowes, habitations and people whatsoever, did not lie barren in this so weighty, so just a cause, but most zealously in the first place seeking the glory of God too too much overshadowed and eclipsed by the neglects and insolencies of our Clergie, next the civill liberty of the subject wisely heretofore guided and supported by the Councells of Parliament, well knowing, that *vis unita fortior*, that in the assembly of many able Noblemen and Gentlemen, consisted more of their happinesse, then in the rule of fewer then, that bought at deare rates their owne private ends, swaying absolutely [illegible]? I say this ever renowned City most unanimously chose rather to undergoe all misery of purse or person, then to see so baroque a body to fall or to be overborne by any other power whatsoever, which they have most stoutely performed even to admiration: when ever Kings, and such as were but lately in acquainted

with Warre affaires were able in the fulnesse of their cause to slay a stout *Goliah*: It were a pity (which I will not doubt) but that the Senate shall gratefully in their due time give them some eminent priviledges that may be benefitall unto them, to stand upon Record, the testimony of their high deservings.

The better by whose assistance the Parliament having made up their ballance of none other then the most pure and tried materialls of Europe, such as Truth, Justice, Magnanimity, Reformation and preservation, &c. against which, the Kings party could have no counter ballance, though guided amisse to endeavour it; the King puts into his scale his frothy Courtiers gaping after their vaine glorious lusts of flesh and fashion, for there was no Court in Christendome more giddy, his vaine headed Lords thirsting after honour and office, his bladder hearted Church-men, so swoln with pride, as they knew no superiour, his cringing fawning Jesuits and Papists, who subtily wrought all their fourmes like moles under ground, his transplenous corrupt officers, with all the rabble Gentrie and Commonalty that had ignorance enough to be tempted, of these were sufficient numbers, but were as yet all too light, so that they threw in among them, hoping to make weight, millions of vow-breakers, femall adulteresses, or fornicatrixes: for it is well observed hithence the rise of this Warre, that not a woman or woman-kinde, who had cast off her chastities, exchanging her modest cheeke to impudence, a mystery they soon learn; but were she wife of, or daughter unto Bishop, Archbishop, or other inferiour or higher Minister, Judge, Lawyer, Souldier, Courtier, Statesman, Physitian, Citizen, Countryman, or what degree soever, but having once sullied her purities, she was and is solely for the damnee ye Boyes, in whom they depend as on their ghostly father, with their lust gotten monies to get them pardons or absolutions, the hopefull tribe of whores.

But I stray from my purpose which hath in it only this scope desirously as to affect the King with his people, and the faithfull people to their King, a worke not only of great necessity, but as well of great consequence, which I might hope for, could all his partakers give me but the reason why he doth absent himself, to whom he might returne with so much welcome, and so much im-

immunity as I dare say never King of England yet had, whom even those he calls his worst Subjects, the dejected inhabitants of London, would not grive to the great exhaust of their treasures, the contrary whereof is so much of admiration unto me, as stonds my capacities; he in his Declaration pretends to take up Armes for the very same causes that we doe, which are Religion, Liberty of the Subject, and the just priviledges of Parliament, which is a worke of supererogation for his Subjects require it not from him: They have a Parliament on foot on which they confide to their whole subsisting without complaint of grievance whatsoever, so that being no better thanked by his Subjects, he may very safely lay downe such Armes, and returne to be himselfe againe, and quit himselfe from the great feare to have his Kingdomes rent and torne from him by provoking of God in so vast an effusion of blood.

Sure it is not the King that can be absent, I have better hopes of his peacefull inclination, it is some that feare the lash of Parliament to have their incontinent acts in publick reveal publickly to answer, which doe detaine him, though good Prince hee little thinkes who they are, the matter is made to him another thing, it is them to whom it is all one whether the Kingdome perish or they: I rather wish them however pardoned, then the Kingdome perished, the King may have the good hap to finde them out hereafter: I wonder that among so many brave men, the King has no friend, no servant, no allie, no councellour of State, that dares in the prospective glasse of reason shew his Majesty what must befall him, his posterity and Kingdomes if hee follow his violence, to thinke to saile through a sea of blood to obtaine their evill purposes masqued under his Prerogative, no, this Kingdome will first beare the name *Acheldama* before ever the witchcraft of Rome shall master them: I had good hopes of the Earle of Dorset, I have a better opinion of him then to thinke his heart can be with their cause, though his dependancie may be with the King, and his loyalty sufficient to serve him, yet nothing should make me to contaminate my conscience; methinks he might act the part of a brave man in this necessitous cause, he is well valued by his Country to have something in him above the common pitch.

How-

Howbeit blinded in his understanding by his mates, walkes the good King confidently trusting to the arme of flesh, drawing a Popish Army about him, not having other cause then before recited, hoping by their means to subdue his people to have the power of liberty, power of Religion, and power of his own government, all which is strongly promised him: now this gives us fresh vigour, for if we come to fight Protestant to Papists, we aske no more; notwithstanding we acknowledge him our *Cæsar*, and are willing to pay him all the rights belonging to *Cæsar*, not intending to touch his person, nor doe his Prophets harme, but to pay him all that by the divine or morall Law he may demand, homage, tribute, fealty, obedience, and allegiance; to him let every knee bow, and every head be bare as unto the highest power; neither doe we condition, but beseech him that he takes us into his protection, to be our just Steward according to the Covenant he vowed upon the receiving the Crowne; which duty I have knowne the Members of Parliament to have beene very tender to performe unto his Majesty: yet me seems it concernes all men to have reason to know when, where and how we pay such duties that the warrantie of a good conscience go along with such obedience; for if the King command me to kill, or to violate any of the Commandements of the King of Kings, I am there to leave him, to crave his pardon, as I am in case he commands mee to beare Armes against his Parliament, who never did or intend him injury, but to propagate him and his Kingdomes to put them both into such a posture, as he may become the glory of Christendome.

It is the opponent party that is the good party, that which opposeth violence and oppression, it is that which conformes, regulates and weeds out the exorbitancies of a Kingdome; as in Colonels *Hampdens* case of happy memory, who claimed a plea in Law whether the King ought *ex jure* require Shipmonies, having at that time no visible Enemy, which notwithstanding the justnes of his plea, the Subjects liberty, when I do consider with what indefatigable toyle he performed it; in whose case neither Judge nor Lawyer, durst speake boldly for feare of suppression: I cannot but acknowledge him a good Commonwealths man, as

true lover of his Country, for should all runne with the streame to flatter or idolize Majesty for their own servile sycophant ends, we were all lost: hence it often fell out that the chiefest places of judicature and authority in this Kingdome were bought and sold to whom gave most, who paying deare therefore to some bawdy gawdy divident Courtiers, to get that up againe, and to leave their sonnes Barronies or Earledomes, for so did *Weston* and *Coventrie*, one of the which the people that till now durst not speak, are bold to say a corrupter man never lived: who bore all this, but the grieved, though not breaking forth Subject?

I would have the Reader but observe what a game of misery in misery they have caused the King to play, to divide his Kingdome: he that had three the most flourishing in Europe, in plenty, manners and loyalty, would now be contented with halfe an one, how is it else that he hath called another Parliament at Oxford, beyond the verge of his faith, making new Iudges, a Lane of mischiefe a Chiefe Baron, directly opposite, and in defiance of his Great Councell; it was pernicious advice, and will fall heavy to them that enter under that roofe, as who would say, if you will not let me have all according to that fury I am possest withall, by counsell of my Royall Consort and her trusty friend and friends, I will yet have one halfe according to their mindes, so long as I can hold up my sword, and when that failes me, I will curse them and love you. There is a moderne Writer who in a Currante of his some fifteen weeks since writes, That the Earle of Newcastle sate at Chesterfield in Darbyshire upon the Commission of Array, who there got 2000. voluntiers to aid the King, I will not question his intelligence, yet he shall pardon me the believing of it, I know that Countrey better; they understand the Commission of Array is to bewray the Kingdome, nor are they in love with the actions of the Cavaliers; had he spoke it of the inhumane barbarous Commoners, Cornish, Welch or Irish, I should yet have pawsed, though peradventure many that would have it so might have swallowed it, they will finde it is not now as in the beginning of such Commissions, for those that love the King best, forbeare so to array themselves, lest they should betray him and his happines to confusion: now is the Kingdom divided & fit to fall,

and

and now is that prophesie at hand, that two Judges shall goe in and out at Monagate Bar in York City, which who will observe, let him observe the sequell, which Inke hath too much gall for my paper, and will not be revealed but in blood.

An obedient sonne doth not with more unwillingnesse strike his naturall parent then doth the Parliament beare Armes against their Soveraign, neither is it for their own respects, but what they are in duty bound unto the welfare of thousands of thousands; for it extends to all posterity that depend on them, neither have they thought of evill toward the King, but to calme that rage that he is by evill counsell wound up into; the vassailing of his Kingdomes, in the preservation whereof, even those that bear Armes with the King against themselves have interest, hoodwinkt as they are for the present; but it will not be long before that filme that hinders the cleerenesse of their sight be taken from them: very nature in every creature labours to preserve her young, so that I am perswaded ere it be long, old men, women with distaves, and babes will rise in so just a cause as the defence of our liberties, which the people to the last man are resolved to maintaine; neither is it in the Parliaments power to slacke their hand of Warre, for what the people will, they will, there being no resistance against the multitude, nor doe the Senate regulate them, otherwise then by love and policie as a vaine thing to stop the rage of their wrath being once risen.

So that Prince *Rupert* and his more beloved brother *Maurice* are mistaken in the cause they take in hand: for though they doe well to take part with their Unkle, yet in this case they doe most preposterously hypocritically in some, deludedly in all, in summe most abominable, cleare out of tune or time, shewing more uglie then a good speech mared by an ill Actor; for this makes a separation betwixt their Sovereigne, and that which should support his Sovereignty, in which is his whole subsisting: it is the *Alpha* and *Omega* of his blisse, and his, his Parliaments, which no wise man can too much reverence: are they not our magazines, our scales of Iustice whereby we weigh good and evill; neither have those Princes cause to forget the curtesies of England who have long befriended them, their Predecessors, brethren and sisters,

without whom they will get ill subsist; besides it is to be thought one of their Armes had been yet shortned by captivity had not the English courtesie released him.

It shall not much trouble me, nor need it trouble any man how meane or slightly the Wren-brained multitude about the King value such supreame Councells, such as in whom there is little more then drinke, a whore, or oaths, or happily so much recreative man, as the politique cunning of a Hawke or Hound, or a dexterity in that most execrable Bedlamite acclamation, every good man trembles to denominate, dam them, sincke them, confound them, cut their soules into sippets, and the like, or more horrid: what case were they in if God Almighty should take them at their word while they were so blaspheming? but for the knowing Nobility and Gentrie, whose blood and education runs a higher pitch, to whom God hath given a greater talent to accompt for; that these men should be so baffled and fool'd in their understandings, to see their Country in a blaze consuming unto ashes and Idolatrie, that they should stand afar off, like the Tyrant *Nero* when Rome was on fire, rejoycing and shooting, See, see my Troy looks beauteous in her flames; these are they that are worthily cryed up and downe our streets, Pillars and Peers, Peers and Pillars, Props and Stayes, Stayes and Staffes of a Kingdome, two Bunches, two Bunches a penny here in the Cart, which jeere is yet too mercifull to what they deserve to meet in futurity: for an Ordinance is worthily past against them, that neither they nor their heirs be ever Parliament men hereafter, let their names be rather hatefull, as a *Banisters* was, for he betraied but one man his Master, but these have betraied their naturall Mother, ript up the wombe they were formed in; their Country, that hath succoured them with blessings abundantly, sold her to slavery of plunder, blood, and all inhumane outrages: it is only the runawayes from Parliament have done it, brought her to that desolation: that Prince *Rupert*, Duke of Cumberland, a stranger overruling all, cries out in his jollity, The ills that I have done cannot be lesse but by attempting greater, and I feel a spirit within mee chides my sluggish hands, and say they have been innocent too long, &c. for so did *Cateline* when he conspired the downfall of Rome.

The

The more sacred they anoint the King, the more they bring him neare unto the highest duty, whole Vicegerent he being, should endeavour to imitate; he findes not among the divine Records any president, Law or Charter to oppresse his people; Kings were chosen and instituted to support their people and Kingdomes, not to destroy them: observe weighnly these words, We, Us & Ours in all the Kings Greetings, forraign or domestick, what doe they imply but his adjunct Councells, whereof Parliaments are chiefe? who are to assist him as the Grand Feoffee in the heavy burden of a Crowne, by whose directions the people are sure he never learnt to lay such extreame taxes on his Subjects, as begin at Knighthood money, and travell through the desarts of Monopolies untill you come to Shipmonies, Loanes, Inclosures and Forrests, you will finde no act of Parliament therein; which taxes unlesse he resolve the people shall alway beare, or beare the losse of their lives and estates, he hath no cause whatsoever to be angry with his people.

You see now my Countrymen and Fellow-Souldiers, on what feet our Cause moves, you see the tenderneſſe of the Parliaments party to manage our welfare by the sword; how often have they sought and sent humble messages and Members to win if it were possible their Sovereigne backe to his owne? you see how unprovok'd he is, you see the justneſſe of our Cause, how respective and modest it is; I hope there is no man wants heart to justifie so much the truth: he that does, is not worthily born an Englishman: you may perceive also a wilfulneſſe on the other side, extreame violent, such as I protest before God, I feare the King to be dealt withall by sorcery or witchcraft; if so the next bout they will have at his life: I am perswaded if the King durst steale away from them, they would yet maintaine the War, the Pope hath so engaged them in; there is that most blessed convert *Jermyn*, hee should be made Viceroy, not *Harry* the ninth, *George Digby* the sonne, Lord High Constable, *John* Earle of Bristoll the father, Lord High Steward, *Francis* Lord *Cottington*, Lord Great Chamberlaine, *Hancks* Lord Treasurer, and wey hey *Banck* Lord Keeper, *Heath* Lord Chiefe Iustice, and *Ned Hide* Attorney Generall to Mr. *Jermyn*: Holbourn of the Court of Wards, & *quisquis in ardua*

sure, the ranker they are in patricide, the higher in promotion.

Can the King be so deluded to thinke the Papists love him? it is a most wayward falacie; they thinke he is not borne of grace to take on him the supremacie to advance himselfe beyond the Pope; besides they are so uncharitable as not to grant us capable of salvation; for say they, there is but one way, one Church, and one Truth, which who so is not of cannot be saved; can it bee then they can love him or her they beleeve cannot be saved, judge yee? for my part I could pity, but not love: no, no, their drift is no other but to plant the law of Rome here, for which only cause they lend him their aid, and not otherwise, for they love him not beyond their owne ends: nay, were I a great person, and my wife a Papist, such a foole am I, I should think she might love a Frenchman, or a Jerman, that knew her secrets in Religion better then my selfe: I confesse I have strove earnestly to have taken the Kings part, examining all motives that might conduce for him, yet have left my selfe unsatisfied, the further I have waded, the more visible grosse have things appeared on that side; so that I am sure though the King may hate me for the present, yet he will have his time to repens such hatred; let a Parasite licke us all over with his oily deceits, dressing neatly his ill favour'd Lady his cause: succeeding time shall hold in high esteeme such worthily stiled Pillars, with other those faithfull Patriots whom have in this present triall stood so stoutly for their Country, whose indefatigable paines and firmenesse will beare an indeliable fragrancie as living lamps to all succession.

This mist of misunderstanding thus set, and the Queene thus wrought upon, the which I omitted to recite in the beginning of my Tract; the Papists having heard, That they that would England win, with Ireland must begin: they prevailed with her Majesty as soone as ever they did apprehend a probability of difference here in England, that she got a Commission signed and sent to commote a War in Ireland; that the Papists there rise under pretence of Liberty of Conscience, and fall upon the Protestants to kill, dispoyle, and rob all they come neare, having prepired businesse enough to keepe us in action here for relieving them, which was seene in the play of bringing up the two Northerne Ar-

Armies to suppresse the City and Parliament, which there can be no blocke so stupid, but what ever is now pretended, must know what was intended; which mischiefe if they had not broached here, the Kingdome of Ireland had paid dearly for their revolt, who however scaped not without great damage by the Protestant party; for no Story that ever I yet read, that mentions greater victories then were obtained by the Irish Protestants against the Papists. This Commission, the ground of these troubles was sealed at Edenborough in Scotland the first of October, 1641. C. R. which is alledged quoted in the English Bible, therefore I shall forbeare here to repeat.

The Jesuit having thus played the invisible visible villaine; much like the Basilicke that Serpent, whom if he see first, you dye, if you see him first, he dyes; he therefore fable Plantere, *bene præmunitus*, knowing the perill of being discerned, walks under ground, having all the visible action to our Prelaticall Clergie, and their copartners, who had among them wrought upon all the favourites, or favourite favourites, whom they might think of fit disposition to taste the forbidden fruit, where all to joyne in to plant a worke as to incline the King to the cause of Rome; whom it is to be feared they had so hemmed in, as I believe Sir *Ralph Hopton* will never doe Sir *William Waller*, in such a nooze as it is disputable how he could breake from: this hand Granado made of the purest ingredients of Rome, Bulls, Breves, Dispensations, Pardons, Indulgences, Ravillack Absolutions, bended from the Pope to the Jesuits, was soone handed to the Queene to hand to her leige Lord, whose Subject as well as Consort shee was, injoyning him it shall not fall untill it breake in Ireland, as afterwards, which feare Majesty most respectively observes which while it was in agitation there, care was taken to make good the plot here, where it was not enough to hoodwincke the King, but the like Mercury must worke upon the Nobility, Gentrie and Commonalty, that some might runne with the streame, some against it, for had they kept all one course, no division could have beene, which was thus nicely controverted.

Many singular good speeches were made by divers Gentlemen of Renowne, urging the necessity of Parliaments, shewing the

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subjects interest therein, that without Councells of such eminencie King nor People could subsist, wherein the Lord *Faulkland* well ingratiated and reputed by the Commonalty, spake most singularly with so rich approved breath seemingly, as much drew the hearts of the people unto him: there were divers more learnedly argued, whereof many of them had at that time their hearts corresponding to their countenances; among which, Sir *Francis Seymor* was not inferiour to any. yet both these Gentlemen, the one being made Secretarie of State to the King, though hee enjoyed it but a while, being slaine at the Battell of Newbery; the other being made Baron of Trowbridge, to their utter dishonours, changed their copies, acting after as much for the King, as they had before pleaded for the Parliament: there is no doubt but the peoples longings, inclinations, and indeed necessities of Parliaments were much refreshed by their speeches, which wholly bound them to such legall Sessions, so that there onely wanted now a way to subjugate another party as much to the Kings Prerogative to be above the Parliament: this must be done, and this must take ground from the accusation of the Earle of Manchester, and the other Members, wherein must be voted by all that thirsted after the Kings favour, such as were Royalists either in tongue or heart, that the King was abused, that he had not justice from the Parliament in denying the persons of the accused: it was not lesse then ignorance to thinke of any cause, it was sufficient the King and Queen demanded them, which not granted turned the very stomacks of the turne broaches at Court, thus were the Cards shuffled and dealt: the one party only for the King, and the other for the King and Parliament, which to this day to consummation not without vast effusion of blood.

The Papists having gotten thus farre on their way, follow on their mischiefe close, so that presently was bold whisperings of pardons and promotions, promotions and pardons to any that joyned with them of the Pumps of Babylon: pardons to all that tooke part with Majesty, Baronies or like preferments further assuring them that the Parliament intended nothing but innovation of Religion, to bring in Brownisme and Tub-preaching, utterly to decrie learning, which how farre from their inclinations,

tions, yet this they give out to alienate the hearts of men from the Parliament, they striving much rather to advance learning, that every Schollar might have a competencie, not as it is now, that the dunce have 400 l. *per annum*, and the Schollar to performe his cure for 20, 30, or 40 pound a yeare, so that it is an *ignis fatuis* to thinke they should decry learning, or impaire what they hold in so high esteem, as that without which no Nation can stand in prosperity, or can hold a correspondencie or commerce with others; without which, the Sea-man cannot divide the Seas, nor the Plow-man weild his plough, without which we cannot defend our Religion, or prove the lawfull grounds thereof; in summe, it is that which we cannot too much reverence, or set too great a value on: it is that which is the second soule, the very life of knowledge, without which we were the most wretched of all Nations: God defend that ignorance should be the mother of devotion; yet it seems to me a reasonable thing that Parliaments who first founded and confirmed our Religion, Laws and Liberties, whom only have the power to repeale, should, having chosen a Synod of Reverend Divines to consult withall therein, have the favour without any mans reluctation, to abreviate such errours as unto their high wisdomes shall seem meet; neither is it without need that they establish a Religion that may have interest upon interest on the consciences of men, for of very small vertue or force is our present wretched condition of obedience toward God: The tenne Commandements being the finger of that Diall that points to all our blisse, within which pale if wee had lived we could not see death, are now become absolute of no use, for who observes to keep any of them? I could dispute them all, but I leave it to abler Expositers: *Thou shalt not take the name of thy Lord thy God in vaine*; how is that obeyed when children are at their dam theams; who observes the Sabbath, or who honours his parents with due reverence? for the sixt, seventh or eight, *Thou shalt not steal, murder or commit adultery*; what is there at this day more in fashion? for the ninth, *Thou shalt not beare false witnesse*: aske *Aulicus* if ever he read that: for the tenth, What do we *covet more then our neighbours wife, his Oxe, his Asse, or any thing that is his?* So that I conclude, it is high time that we

made better conscience of our dayes.

This Jesuiticall sparke thus blowne artificially to the height, wrought upon the minde of divers, nothing being more difficult to brooke then innovation, which by such tamperings they much feared to be reduced from Libertines unto a strict riged comportment: besides it was disputable whether it were not better to be all Papists, then tyed unto what they called a severe conformity, the scale being ready to turne that way; so much footing had they got in Court, that I my selfe have knowne one of the sonnes of one of the chiefest Officers of State come to one of Canterburies Priests lodging to Confession and Absolution, which toleration granted, grant all the rest, for that is the very key that locks and opens all the confederacies and conspiracies of Rome: from whence let me take occasion some little to digresse to satisfie my Countrymen, though I acknowledged it preacted by farre abler men; yet as it is a meanes that labours in our calamities, let me in my proportion satisfie what kinde of golden Calfe they would have us worship: I have sometimes admired the invention of monies, the nerves and sinewes of man, as of Warre, or commerce; the invention of Gunnes, Printing, Arithmeticke, the Compasse, &c. with other high humane secrets found out by man, for the use of man: but when I have considered the Law of Rome, I confesse it hath bounded my capacities, as the highest cheat or jugling Schoole that ever I did comprehend or cope withall: I have seen the tricks of Hocus Pocus, poor triviall things to fall in comparison with their sleights of hand with their hodg podg, where by the way, give me leave to think their Priests are not ignorant of these abominations: among them their Priests advance themselves as Gods over the people, and they poore silly wretches of what kinde soever, gentle or simple, literate or illiterate, doe pinne their faiths on the Priests sleeves, that what he commands is *supreme lex*, which denied endangers excommunication, with Bell, Booke and Candle, whom his heires at what rate soever shall not redeeme out of Purgatory, without great humiliation and purging of the purse; but for their curse of Bell, Booke and Candle, it so much affrights me, as barring sorcery and witchcraft, I would give money to

have

have it, not that I am in love with execrations, but to tellifie unto men how ridiculous it is: I have sometimes said in my wantonner dayes that if I durst sinne against God, I would give a limbe to be a Romish Priest, by reason of the accesse they have to women of all qualities, such as I beleeve many of them beget Princes, Marquesses, Dukes, Earles, all degrees: we say, *occasio facit furem*; if opportunity can make men theeve, then surely opportunity, safety and secresie may well make the weaker sort transgresse, including the power of Absolution: let them argue what they can counterfeidly, so ignorant am I, as I will not trust my wife either with Priest or Minister upon such opportunities.

Further, the Priests commands them just as we doe our Spaniels, sirrah fetch: now if he be an obedient Asse, as who of them is not, then he strokes him on the head, and spits in his mouth, if the foole shall dare to grumble, that is, enter into considerations, then he beats him, crying downe you Cur, downe you base Cur, know you not your Master? if you be servile enough, then hee gives you a crust, that is, two or foure or six penny worth of salvation, or if you be able to pay for it from 5 l. to 500 l.

They presse vehemently the primitivitie of their Church, I hold it no concerne to my salvation whether it were or not, for if ever it were so, it is doubtlesse much adulterated: shall it then tye me that because my Grandsire *Adam* wore figge leaves to cover his nakednesse, that I should doe so at this day having the use of cloath; yet shew me that Church in her native primitive purity without sophistication of the lazie Monkes, and fatted Abbey Lubbers, you will then finde her nearer to our condition then her owne? Was it not a fine time when the Pope under his great Seale of lead, well nigh an hundred years old, when it was found in the Abbey of S. *Aubrey* for the recreation of the Abbot, *in hac verba*: *Oportet ut habeat simul & incessu modesto & pulchram pacatam non libidinis causa, sed ad propagandam prolem.* Another as chaste an one touching the Nuns at this day upon record in the Tower:

I goe in haste, I weare to be chaste:
I doe indeed,
Unless Court or Country force the contrary,
Or extreame need.

These, and many other such are the authorised orthodox doctrine of Rome: I will not speake of the reverence done to every wodden or stone Crosse in the high way of those Countries, by whom the people dare not passe but bare headed crossing themselves.

Let me request you a little admire with me their miracle of miracles, performed every yeare *Deceptio visus*, as that of *Nostre dame de loisioye*, in or neare Picardy, where in person I have been, though not at the solemnity, yet have conferred with divers Pilgrims that have gone many leagues unto it; they keepe a custome once a yeare at their great Procession and high Masse: it is not the dancing of the Ropes, for that were worth the going so farre to them that had not seene it; but here forsooth you must bring a faith along with you, to believe one yeare the deafe heares; a second, the dumbe speaks; a third, the blinde sees; a fourth, the cripple walkes: this, whosoever will not beleeve is not worthily of that infallible Church: And I remember one *Hill* borne in London of Protestant parents, to his great comfort converted to that Church, takes on him to write controversies in a booke intituled, The 24 points, wherein he pleads strongly their power in miracles, calling us poore new fellowes that cannot quicken a flea: Now I say to all the Churches of Spaine, France or Italy, or their confederates; I will catch so silly a creature as a flye in my hand, and pull of one wing, which if all the Clergie of Rome cause to flye againe, I will goe to Church with them the morrow after: where is now their Hocus my Countryman *Hill* with his Satchell full of miracles? I shall safely protest before God, I have not with more admiration entred into the inscrutable secret of the ebbing and flowing of the waters, for which *Aristotle* drowned himselfe because he could not comprehend, then I have done to see a wise man a Papist, especially to see a free borne Gentleman a Scholar more then the Priest, yet to be in vassalage to him.

If there be yet a greater miracle, it is done daily within our City walls or Suburbs, that is Con or Transubstantiation in the holy Sacrament, of bread changed into flesh, & blood into wine, which who so beleeveth not, doth most dangerously, even unto dam-

damnation moſt unworthily receive; this they preach and preſſe when themſelves, impudent as they are, know there is no ſuch Metamorphoſis, but they ſenſibly doe palliate very bread and very wine: what does the Church of Rome doe now in all this, but ſeeke her owne glory, to advance themſelves as Gods over the people by infuſing ſuch conceits as theſe are, which are meerly of no uſe, the Prieſts glory exempted? for I conceive that moſt bleſſed peace Offering to be a Covenant of grace between God and man, wherein the Almighty doth moſt graciouſly and tenderly promiſe, who willeth not the death of a ſinner, much rather that he repent & live, calling often out, *Come unto me all ye that are heavy loaden*, &c. and in another place, *At what time ſoever a ſinner doth repent, he will have mercy and forgive*: (he does not ſay the the prieſt ſhall) ſo that the Covenant depends, that which is uſefull to our ſoules, our comforts and ſalvation upon Gods promiſe unto him or them that ſhall worthily receive, thereupon becomming truly contrite and humbled, grieving for our forepaſt ſinnes againſt the Majeſty of ſo good a God, and falling into a loathing and deteſtation of ſinne in time to come, walking alwayes in an awfull feare of the divine Preſence, which at all times overſhadowes us, not daring to doe evill for conſcience ſake toward God, and not in the outward ſigne Con or Tranſubſtantiation, which is no advantage unto a wounded conſcience; neither is it any thing of faith, but the meere exaltation of the Prieſts, for if I ſo receive it as aforeſaid penitently, I receive it worthily, wherein my ſoule will feele an inward refreſhment, beyond all externall ſuppoſition: beſides, had our Saviour intended it ſhould have beene ſo underſtood, or that impudent man durſt ſo have miſapplied that figurative ſpeech, *Hoc eſt corpus meum*, it was in his power at that inſtant to have made it viſibly appear fleſh to have ſo cut off all enſuing controverſie, ſuch as will be ſo blinded to take *Nunc* for ſubſtances, muſt beare their owne wretchedneſſe.

One other equall policie there is uſed by their Prieſts to promote themſelves as Gods before the people in their Canonicall Law for abſtinence from fleſh; this is moſt ſtrictly by the Laity obeyed as a point of faith; the violation whereof renders them capable of damnation, for they have both vehemently argued and

urged it unto me, as a direct principall sinne against the Sacrament of order, equall to adultery, patricide or murder; so that they hold it not as we, and all other discreet persons ought to doe: a good morall Law for preservation of store or change of dyet once or twice a weeke, not considering what goeth into the body defileth not, but bound in conscience as I have formerly related: I having personally seen when I have been in quarter as a Cavallier upon the Peasantrie, that on a fish day when I have had flesh to eat, I have given a fit proportion unto some childe of the house; the jealous parents, father or mother seeing thereof, have watched their opportunity untill my minde have been otherwise fancied, have snatched the meat from the childe and throwne away, crying out unto them, Fie, fie, *Manger vous du chair aujourdhuy vous estes dame*: the like wonder saw I comming from the siege of Lemot in Lorraine, when the whole Dukedome had yeelded unto the King of France, where being straited in flesh, and comming to the City of Troy in Champain, at one of the best houses of the City, I demanded flesh, which the Land-lady tooke in derision, saying, *Je ne aye point rien au manger mais du Burre du fourmage des eufs et du poisson, Jesu dit elle manger vous du chair aujourdhuy le vray payenant Luymesme il ne mange point de chair aujourdhuy*: inferring that the Protestant whom they call *Huguenits*, did not eat flesh on Fridayes, nor had she any thing but Butter, Cheese, Fish and Egges, which as she was bound in conscience not to eat any, so she was much more not to sell any, unlesse it were in case of sicknesse upon a toleration from their Priest, which was her faith positively. I have seen likewise, *Dans le temps du careſme*, or Lent time, when I have quartered at an house marching on some exploit, that when I have returned backe that way accidentally, the most part of a moulder of Mutton that I have left there eight dayes past, nor given so much as to the poore, or indeed will they eat it, for they had rather see it spoyled or throwne to the dunghill then their dogs should: are not these brave Priests that thus binde the people? does any man thinke that their consciences or intellects can goe along with such doctrines?

There be infinite more topperies as deformed as these are, such

such are, Confession, Absolution, Adoration, Abstinence from Flesh, the seven Sacraments, &c. reprooved by worthy and learned Authors, to whom I referre the Reader, not being opportune for me to recite, lest I might too much straine patience: These I have epitomized to shew what a hopefull cause they strive for; and what an abominable condition they would bring us into, in the change of our Religion. Let us all therefore, that have English hearts, ponder wisely hereon, to resolve with some of the English Cavalry, that came lately out of Ireland, upon that treacherous Cessation, who being required to ayd the King in his intestine barbarous warre, discreetly answered, We owe the King our lives, have he any Enemy forraine or domesticke, which wee understand him not to have, but that he may have his owne demand at his pleasure; besides we came lately from the aid of the Protestants against the Papists: and shall we now aid the Papists against the Protestants?

Before I can leave the Pope and his Confederates, the Jesuits and Priests that pimp for him, I have one wonder more to impart unto you, which is an omission in ambition, a thing very rare in the Clergie, especially in his hallow Holinesse: he takes upon him to canonize, create, or make Saints: why cannot he as well by the same power create Angels, Cherubins or Seraphins, or all the other holy orders of Heaven, the same authority will doe it? sure they will finde the knacke out, some succeeding Pope if Popes stand, and the Whore flourish, for the present God Almighty, honest *Urban* the eight, he is held a little stupid; for in an expresse from St. *Peter* I finde he is very angry with him, and threatens that if ever he be so served againe, he will have no more Popes: the matter was thus: This Pope sent the last muster a company of such puckfoist Saints to Heaven, as St. *Peter* said were not fit to come neare it, or ever did such persons approach there; there was Iailors, Marshalls men, Serjeants, Horsecoursers, Brokers, Murderers, Treachers, Dammee yee's, Panders and Pickpockers, such a rabble of trumpery as he never heard on; at which he was infinitely incensed: who should command the van of all these villains but *Ravillack*, and *Guido Fauxe*? who when they came to Heaven gates fell a vomiting most lamentably, and

confeſt it was no place fit for them ; ſo St. *Peter* in his rage ſent them every one backe to Purgatory to Mr. *Noy*.

I would aske of theſe hot ſpur Cavaliers, Wittall-heads, Woodheads, or indeed Country-ruiners, that make ſuch haſte to confuſion : I have a Mr. or Lord that tooke me a childe from an improvident father, who hath not only given me education, but foſtered me for many yeares, made me a man of reputation and fortune, whereby I am well able to ſubſiſt in good ranke among all men ; whether I am more bound unto this Maſter, or my King, whoſe bread happily I never taſted, I leave it to them to anſwer: yet ſure I am the law of gratitude on which God caſts a jealous eye, pleads much for the Maſter, whom if I cannot quit to ſerve my King in unlawfull demands, much leſſe my God to ſerve him in changing my Religion : but let them worke on with all their malignancie, calling to their aide all the power of Matchiavell; I am aſſured that neither the politique Church of Rome, nor the haughty Clergie of England joyned, a day they both long for, ſhall prevaile againſt thoſe ſacrifices wherein God is delighted, humility and obedience : however he may for a time chaſtiſe us by the rod of War, Peſtilence or Famine, or altogether, which if hee pleaſe to inflict all, we are patiently reſolved to undergoe : it is for our abominations, pride and fulneſſe of bread, in which wee forgot our Creator : that reverend Bard, Sir *Jeffrey Chaucer* had ſome calculation on theſe times, writing many yeares ſithence in theſe words :

When faith faileth in Prieſts Saw's,
And Lords heſts are taken for Lawes :
Lechery is held ſolace, and robbery purchaſe :
Then ſhall a great confuſion happen unto Albion.

I conclude not any ſafety in putting truſt in Diviners, yet we may note how patly the good man gueſſed at theſe times : for what are Prieſts Saw's, more then their ſayings the diviſion in the Church? what is plunder, but robbery? and for the other Letchery, it was ſo familiar that I cannot be perſwaded but divers great perſons have been Cuckolds by conſent, for divers actions have appeared very publique : there be many more predictions

that

that we may construe to concerne these times as that, *Mars, puer, alello, virgo vulpes, Leo nullus*: I could insert them to admiration, but I would not have the Reader thinke I picke my conclusions from them, yet I perswade my selfe Mother *Shiptons* reliet is worth the perusall both of Prince and People, considering those things have come to passe according to her divining; for such a beginning she speaks on neare Bosworth Field, such an infatuation she speakes on, and such a bitter, bitter close shee speakes on, which is exceeding probable to ensue: God in his mercy divert it.

Thus have I not without prolixity, given you a view of the Engeneers of Rome, how busie they are to subvert us: it remaines that I touch a second branch that thrusts on to compleat our ruine; these are our owne *Rademantho* Clergie, that strut the street with their Beavers cockt, their armes a kelbow, with a Livery-fellow waiting upon them, who are as ready for you, if you be of their acquaintance, to drinke, dice, drabbe: yea though they be formerly married as any wanton Lay-man. I deny them not all recreation, but not in extreames, for it must needs appeare ugly to all that have interest in salvation: my selfe have knowne a Minister come in company with good fellowes, whose discourse hath been all the while, drinking the last draught with them, of matches of Dogges, Cockes, Horses, Hawkes, Hounds, Foot-men, which most part himselfe had, the rest hee could procure, that should overmatch any man for any summe they would lay; indeed so many matches as I thought he would have set me on fire, as I was little lesse to heare his impudence: quoth an attentive blushing Gentleman, I will runne with you to the Pulpit, to which he cried, Have at it backward, for I beleeve backward or forward were all one to him: I could name the very man, but that I will not fully my clearer streame with blabbing; let the wiser world judge if this were comely in a Church-man, whom if you examine further, you will finde avaritious as Usurers, litigious as Ingrossers, ravenous as Vultures, libidinous as Monkeyes: it hath been observed by some, they more haunted Westminster-Hall then any one profession in Terme time, even those men that had put their hands to the holy Plough,

that had taken on them a charge of Soules, that were the servants of the most High, that were Expositers of the holy Writ, whose lives and doctrines should have been living lamps unto their Parishioners their flocke; studied more to insinuate with their Patrons, and the adjacent Gentrie, then either God or their cure of soules; he had now gotten him a Benefice, a sound one, and a belly-peece, a dainty one; so that he is next his Patron the best man in the Parish, and his hopefull off spring, though of the first head, must flaunt it, tell not him of the Pulpit nor the People, let those scabbed sheep who bring not Grist to his Mill preserve themselves from the bryers as well as they can, he hath a wife and children to purvey for, and his Besse, though she be a little pleasantly affected, the custome of Parsons wives and daughters, yet her service is especially luckey to the best men, and none so necessary to the Ladies for conserves of conceales: is this the way to illustrate the Majesty of Heaven, or to plant an awfull feare of the Divine Presence in the intellects of men? this barrennesse seems to me rather to bring forth Atheisme; for how shall I beleeve there is a God, let them preach an infiniteneſse inexpressible, unspeakable, such as what soule could comprehend, would desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, when they themselves live so farre from a lively example to Print it? for it is unpossible the divine worthy longings after God can be smothered in any one; we have a favourable reply in their behalfes, which I doe beleeve does them more hurt, then us good; which is, you must not doe as they doe, but doe as they say: a fine comment for the Laity to be lights unto the Clergie: this liberty or irreligious life of theirs hath been the cause God hath beene so ill understood amongst us, as may be observed in married paires, who have been Church followers ten, twenty, thirty, forty yeares together, yet knew not God, or had ingraven in their hearts the mystery of salvation: it sufficed them to know morall manners, such as their teachers did, or instinct gave them, and more they sought not.

I am not as you have heard much in love with the doctrine of Rome, yet doe prefer the decencie of their Clergie in habit and life much before ours; for they neither wive, nor tythe, nor occupy their minds in worldly affaires, nor have society with the

Laity,

Laity, but live a part: It was the opinion of a Wise man, that if it might stand with approbation of great Councell and Religion, that it were well the King and Pope did agree, that who to would give a sonne to the Church should give him cleane, that is lib'd or gelt, as being the only meanes to draw both Churches into one, for these ston'd Priests doe mischiefe on both sides: I cannot passe over a merry passage of the Lord Chamberlaine *Cary* to Queen *Elizabeth*, in whose time it being debated whether Ministers should marry or not in Parliament, the vote comming to him, stood for them that they might marry: for saies he, they have made use of our wives long enough, let them marry that wee may make use of theirs, which I suppose hath beene performed sufficiently.

Thus were these two, the precise Priests of Rome, and the more publique Clergie of England by means of that blessed Saint, Canterbury, growing into one, and the harmlesse King ill acquainted with Matchiavilisme, must doe the ill discerned office to unite them, but I have better hopes that God Almighty will not so totally forsake him, but that he first forsake those Empericks and impostures, the best of whom are not worthy his Royall care, they have already too much misguided him, from that happy condition he was in of illustrious Majesty, whom the world loved and feared, to become an obscure Prince; I know not who can doe it but they of his evill counsell, for he hath none but friends with his Parliament, such as would live to dye to serve him *par tout le Christendome*: let all that cordially, not verbally love the King, pray that he may returne to his People, his Pallaces, his Parliament, who intend no other in all they doe but that the honour thereof may redound unto him and his; whereas the contrary part but flatter him, and the time will come when he shall turne his eyes loathedly upon them, their due rewards, crying out, Get you behinde me you Satanists.

The pride of the Clergie hath been in all ages the most unsatisfied thirst in the world; it hath been the incendiarie to beget heaviests Wars that ever have been in Christendome, if that be the way to save soules, they have saved millions of millions by untimely funeralls: it is very them that act this present calumity we

are in: doe not they seeke to strangle the King and Nobles at this day, with the opinion. No Bishop, no King? urging further, that the State drives at a confused parity; irreligious drainers, they know well enough that a Monarch, a People, a Nation, may subsist without the imperiousnesse of Bishops, or their titular function, but not without degrees of honour and office, both in Church and Common-wealth: Me thinks it were no difficult thing for our Godly, Reverend, Religious Clergy-men, to confirme one universall Church throughout Christendome, that the Gospel might appeare in its full lustre, that such division, such severall sorts of Sectists might not be branch'd out of one principle or foundation, for we all beleeve stedfastly in one Diety and one Trinity, all that are called Christians; yet one man is satisfied in his conscience even to persecution or Martyrdome, to suffer as a Protestant Arminian, another as a Protestant Anabaptist, another a Protestant Brownist, another as a secular Protestant Papist, every man drawing his principle from Scripture; this were a better work in my opinion to reconcile, then the study of a wife and children, culling out the good, that is divine and orthodox held by any, making one wholesome savoury dish out of all for our Spirituall food: if there were now a Synod appointed to hold correspondencie with all Nations, such a Synod might bring to Christendome a happy Reformation.

But to grow neere to a conclusion, they have one objection which they presse highly to us; which is, say they, The Kings being denied the *Militia*, which they say, the Kings Predecessors ever had: we deny, and that blamelesse, that it is denied unto him, but hee may receive it in full splendour: but these firebrands of mischiefe consider not they are the goods of the Kingdome, nor thinke on the King married to a Lady of another Religion, a busie stickler for Rome, or have leasure to pawse on the Commission granted for Ireland, or the horrid purpose in bringing up the two Northerne Armies to suppresse the Parliament and City, or enter into the triviall exception taken by the King to leave his people: nor did the Parliament ever desire other then that they might be intrusted into safe hands: who would not thinke it strange that the sonne and heire of a 1000 l. a year, two

or three, becauſe his father ſhall mildly reprove him of ſome inclinations of his that are incongruous to his health or welfare, that he thereupon ſhall take on him a ſullenneſſe to leave his father and his inheritance, to goe to be knockt on the head as a ſouldier in the Netherlands? nor lookt they upon the Truſtees care to preſerve the people from Idolatry; thoſe that have the *Militia* in truſt are juſt ſtewards for the great *Stewart*, at all times ready to give account of their ſtewardſhip: neither looked they upon Ireland, which had been the buſineſſe the Kings Predeceſſours for many years to ſettle in that tranquility and fertility, that it was well nigh coequall with England, is fallen backe to her firſt Chaos, and will be the buſineſſe of many yeares to re-eſtate without preſent reliefe, which no wiſe man can love the King, and thinke on without weeping teares: when your ſubtile villain theef drawes in a young one into the ſociety, he points ſtill to the jollity they will have with the booty, but tells him not of the danger either of body or ſoule, but labours to hide that from him: ſo theſe blacke coat Gibſies, theſe falſe Fortune-tellers, that have cheated the King of his Intellect; they tell him of nothing but conqueſt, and what will be then in his power: the family of Conqueſts are now the only family, the favourites and violets at Court, of whom the conqueſt of Briſtoll is chiefe, all loſſe, Binloſſe or Kinloſſe, or loſſe whatſoever being utterly expelled; loſſe of Ireland which had heretofore paid good tribute, loſſe of Scotlands love, or the plundering the affections of England, are not once thought on: Surely Oxford is an inchanted place, that the King the ſonne of ſo wiſe a Prince ſhould ſo far ſtray from his fathers precepts; his Aphoriſme was that Warre was good for no man, but him that could not live without it: ſuch as Sir *Richard Greenvile*, who was never other then a meer Robber, to get what he could by rapine, ſuch as was beyond honeſty, therefore the leſſe worthy to take part with ſo upright a cauſe as the Subjects; he is gone to the King meerly for the benefit of plunder, which he had heard was a free trade there, and that was his Idoll, therein lay his conſcience: you will finde him one of the firſt Renegadoes the King will hate, if the King can hate diſpoyling of his Subjects; none but a baſe man would have ſo much ſullied

his blood and reputation, he knowes there is nothing held more dishonourable especially in a Souldier then to betray a trust; had he been of some counterfeit family, a bankrupt in reputation, or one that had lived upon the Merchandize of Whores, or falsity of dice, my wonder had been lesse; it seems he had secondly next plunder and deceit, a minde to dye on that side his brother Sir *Bevil* did, may he have his wish, may his requitall be to be divided into Atomes, and may the Parliament never more for his sake trust any officer in so chiefe commands without the morgage of his soule in receiving the Sacrament, and may his picture bee drawne and hung up in every Garrison we have, and rewards given to such as bring in his head alive or dead: Kings may love the Treason, but hate the Traytor.

I cannot slip over one passage in King *James*, that second *Solomon*, he wanting money, yet knowing it was not the way to call a Parliament solely for that cause, made his pretence more discreetly for the redresse of grievances, yet made himselfe as powerfull as he could in friends to carry Subsidies; the Houses sitting, the faction for the King moved for Subsidies, to which the lower House, or House for the Commons and Commonwealth, made reply, That it were well there were somewhat first done by the King to prevaile with his people, the monyes being to be drawne out of their purses; with other like stronger arguments; but move what they would, the Kings party accomplished his desires, which done, they hastened unto him to give him the accompt thereof, which howbeit was not unwelcome newes unto him; yet marke his paternall jealousies, he inquires what opposition they had, or with what freedome or unwillingnesse it came, the parties that gaped after his thankes made him answer, some they had, but they were but slight, of no value, in which he would not be satisfied, till he understood the grounds, who then was answered, the Houses reply was, That the King had many wayes encreased his Revenues beyond his Predecessors, and that as yet he had purchased no Lands, or by Warre inlarged his Dominions, or had any visible enemy, or any Childe to marry; which when the good King heard, quoth he, Call you these triviall oppositions? Deele on my saul, but they speak truth,

let

let me speake with them to morrow, to whom when they came, the King made a gracious Speech, praying them to proceed to doe his people good, for without that he would none of their moneyes, for saies he, I remember when you called me in to bee your Governour, for so he is pleased to stile himself, I was sworn to maintaine your Lawes: Now that I am a Monarch, I thinke there is none of you will deny, but that I am a Monarch absolute I deny my selfe, for I am not above your Lawes, nor doe I purpose to infringe them, besides the meanest Subject I have hath Law open to implead against me for wrong done unto him: the which sweet Kingly complacencie tooke so farre with the Members of Parliament, as they departed very well satisfied, allowing him the subsidies before voted: Such pious steps as these, I pray God King *Charles* may succeed him in.

Your Runawaies from Parliament, who neither deserve the stile of honourable nor honest, have beene they that have done great damage, making that dubious, that was and is as cleere as the Sunne, which now the adverse party urge unto us; That in case our cause were good, why should so many of the Members of both Houses leave us to take part with the King? there is no man is to conceive that any of them did absent themselves in regard they thought the Kings cause better, but thought the Kings force and power greater: then, if he prevayled, they set before them the cruelty of former times, how Sir *Robert Philips*, Sir *John Eliot*, Master *Strowd*, Master *Long*, Master *Selden*, Master *Valentine*, &c. had beene used, in stead whereof, heere was hope of promotion, they leapt unadvisedly in, who would be as glad to leape out, as appeares by their daily revolt.

I could relate unto you many, the chiefe tenents or pleas, that are the very coat-armour the Enemy beares against us: for I have searcht into their Alcheron, into their very principles, which have onely in them the *Species* of good, but the abstract of eminent perill. Say they, We know no warrant that any man hath, or are we to beare such irreligious armes: we are sure, say they, that we discharge our obedience and allegiance, homage, fealty, and loyalty, which, whoso denieth to doe, is to doubt his own happinesse heere and hereafter: All which arguments or pressures,

I grant

I grant to be uncontrollably due unto Majesty, so really, as no subject dares to wrestle against or oppose. The King is our absolute Monarch, equall unto whom we acknowledge no power under the Sunne: yet is not he immortall, without his failings, he may have unlawfull desires, as those, to kill, or the like: neyther is he without his *Quaternus*, nor is he crowned but conditionally; that he protect those ancient Lawes and Liberties, that are dependants on the Crowne, the care of his peoples subsisting. Neither are the Subjects in England (though borne in obedience) yet not in vassalage unto him: to preserve which Lawes and Liberties, they may as safely beare armes against the oppossers, as eyther eat, drinke, or sleepe, all which are inevitable: our obedience it is most true, is highly due, even to our lives or estates, being required in a lawfull cause, by a lawfull Councell, against a forreigne Enemy or domesticke perturbation; in which I dispute not but our present Prince hath as great a proportion of affection, as any Prince in the World; for if the affection of a Nation can make, or indeed doe make their Prince miserable or glorious, I doe beleeve our King hath the opportunity to be unparallel'd happy: but now to looke home to see a Warre raised here within our owne confines, within our owne hearts, to see the great Councell of the Kingdom, them by whom Kings put on their Crownes, their Prerogatives, their power of creation of Dignities, their all; for how are they what they are but by such power given them, by such Councells, Councells of Parliament: I say, to see such Body degraded, contemned, slighted, yea paid in the most ingratefull coine that ever so worthy Labourers were requited in: in this case there is no person of wisdome, that hath the use of two eyes or two eares intelligibly, or is beyond *hec homo*, or a female man, but may clearly distinguish without mist or vapour whatsoever; for the day breakes not more transpicuous, then is this Cause of ours, our Countrie, which I cannot call maintained, but guided by Order of Parliament: As in case a fellon or murderer be taken and arraigned at the Barre, where proved guilty by sufficient evidence, the Judge pronounceth death unto him: now it is not the Judge that dooms or condemns him, but the letter of the Law brought to counterballance his trespasse;

passe; so it is not the Parliament that sway or wage this Warre, they only administer to the people what they compulsively extort from them, the power and benefit of the former founded Lawes their inheritance, which they in purse and person do abet, nor will depart from untill the cavelling excepting party yeeld unto them, or both yeeld to the earth, unlesse some worthy *Heroe* on either part for preservation of the Kingdome, which otherwise is so extreamly lost, as King *Charles* and his Progeny would be as happy in the Monarchie of a Mole-hill, as here in this rent and torne Kingdome: So the Steersman that guides the Ship is not the waves that beares it, yet are not they lesse notwithstanding their traducing, then a sad and grieved people, to meet their Soveraigne, and his parties evill suggestions or misdeemings, yea I am perswaded it happy had beene unto them, and the whole Nation, had not this Sessions been conveened, as it might thus have fallen forth; the King doubtlesse would have followed the opinion of his old counsellours, Mr. *Laud* (whom the people wonder is not yet hanged) and that other rare Bird in betraying his Country, *Finch*, to have put on another new yoake upon his people, equivalent to that of Ship-money, sufficient to have made the people rise entire together to insurrection, which had prevented this division; so that our Theater of woe had been acted in and out at one Portall, where the King might have sate to have seen the issue of his preferring an Arbitrary government before a Parliamentary.

Your wearied eyes have by this Historicall Relation, by this weapon alive discerned the plea on both sides: that on the Kings, how truely it is acknowledged, and how tenderly it is observed by the Parliament and their party; as likewise on the Parliaments, how full of sincerity, integrity, and necessity it is, who neither have nor can have other end whatsoever, but to advance Majesty: You are now to weigh together with your duties unto Majesty, the minute incomprehensible care and charge to every mans capacity that depends upon the Trustees or evidences of the Kingdome, the Senate, to preserve and protect the people, whole losse of liberties would fall heavy upon them, and their posterities; which who so seems to decline, seems to mee

none other then a ſordid weake man : for I dare chalenge the whole knot on the contrary part to give unto theſe meane teſtimonies of mine, a living reaſon, how their Warre is built upon equall baſes or foundation unto ours; or why their King left his people, or why he is yet abſent, were he not tempted unto it by the hope, by the flatteries of his ſycophantizing Clergie, corrupt officers, and the hatred of his barren Courtiers, with the Catholique cauſe involved; who all inſure him by force to make ſuch a conqueſt, as ſhall bring the Nation into ſuch a condition of ſlavery; like the wooden ſhoo'd French, as they ſhall never dare to diſturb him after. In this maſſacre, in this reducement to a ſecond chaos, is London moſt eſpecially threatned; her riches as booty divided, and ſhe left only ſtone upon ſtone, conſumed unto aſhes: this is a wiſh which if they might enjoy, they were ſatisfied to have wrought a good work; but none of them can tell me where they would finde or erect ſuch another City either in England, or the Chriſtian World : what time would build ſuch another City to that fulneſſe of Traffique and Commerce as was there? or where would the King finde ſuch a Chamber? where would the Land finde ſuch a Spring to give ſo many Nations ſuſtenance? what time would raiſe the Kings cuſtomes to that height, and how poorly would his Lands maintaine him that while? wee ſhould have Courtiers three pence a dozen: well, I will ſay with the French, *Hony ſoit qui mal y penſe*, evill be to him that evill thinketh.

Juſt as I was cloſing up theſe papers, came bitterly unto my knowledge the late accident the Lord Generall had in Cornewall : it is a chance of warre without the ſphere of his blame or ſhame, ſuch as had the ſucceſſe of many our former undertakings, who have beene much ſullied by theſe two evill handmayds, Delay, and Betray; this the Enemy advanceth as the conqueſt of the whole buſineſſe, when many of them are not aſhamed to ſay, that already our moſt zealous Churchmen begin to wheele about, at leaſt to incline to a deſpairing modeſty : but ſtay, let them that fight their wicked battels rejoice with Bells and Bonefires, drinking healths of confuſion, to fall on themſelves : the reſidue more civiliz'd, whereof there are too many thouſands about London :

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let them argue and relieve their cauſe; they may both finde time enough of repentance, & make as much haſte to their funeralls as thoſe on this ſide: wretched wretches that know not what they wiſh: It is now opportune before I take my farewell, not as a thing by him needed, rather a duty I am bound in, to inſert what I may truly in ſome dimenſions, our Lord Generalls Braveries, which I ſhall be the more briefe in, in regard they are already, ſo high on wing as hath the congratulation of both Armies, to be unblemiſhed beyond controle. There is one hath written a book, ſtiling it, His vindication: It is no good manners to detract any mans labours; nor will I count my ſelfe a better Limbner then he, yet me thinks upon ſerious view of his worth, he hath drawn him ſhort of the life: for I can adde theſe ſhadowes to ſet forth his clearer luſtre; That there never was a Generall in Chriſtendome of greater affability then he is, or one more ſtudious to win the hearts of his party unto him, or did ever any more oblige men; never was there a Generall of more tendernoſſe in preſervation of blood, holding it the ſafeſt policie in a Generall to uſe all meanes rather to preſerve, then raſhly to weaken his Body, beleeving that battell to be well fought, that is fought in due ſeaſon, not ayming beyond poſſibilities, knowing that every Souldier experienced, with ſome time and exerciſe, is worth two entred raw: hath not his Excellencie declined all power, all reſpects of his owne, or counſells, alwayes to follow the direction of both Houſes? In ſumme, he is a viall filled ſo full of Honour, as no temptation of dignity or favours of a King may alienate or eſtrange from his plighted faith, wherein he hath given ſo lively proofe, as his name is not to be remembred but with reverence. To ſecond whom, as veines innate with Noble blood, ſinewes and arteries of Honour, I finde imitating or making up to his merit, the thrice honoured Earle of Manchester, remarkable in his eſpeciall gallantrie at Lyn and Yorke, ſervice not to be forgotten: with whom, I may likewiſe joyne that pareill in Magnanimity and Glory, the ſo much famed Lord *Fairfax*, with the Earles of Stampford and Denbygh; not failing to pray for him that is now in triall, beſet with ſtormes and threats, the honourable Lord *Roberts* in Plymouth; the Lord *Gray* ready for imploy-

ment, a hopefull Gentleman of great forwardneſſe and faithfulneſſe: nor thoſe trienniall Worthies may be forgotten in ſo great a Conqueſt as was that before Mountgomery Caſtle, performed by Sir *John Meldrum*, Sir *William Brereton*, and Sir *Thomas Middleton*, ſtout and truſty, as are Sir *John Gell*, and Colonell *Crummel*: nor may we forget, but pay honour to his name who hath beene as a perpetuall motion ſince the beginning of our troubles in thoſe great ſervices of Alton, Alsford and Arundell, reduced by the Renowned Sir *William Waller*: I am not able to uſher in proper cue their worth and braveries, nor to beare the catalogue in my memory of ſo gallant men, as are in our Army; equall unto whom before named, is there in remaine, the redoubted Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, Sir *Samuel Luke*, Major Generall *Skippon*, all *tam arte quam Marte*: nor may I forget him who is haſtening a pace in fame, whom let his Profeſſion be what it will, to my knowledge is a Gentleman both of brain & bravery above the common flight, the diſcreet Major Generall *Browne*. I have in reſerve to diſcharge as an honourable volley, a farewell of good proſperity to theſe ſo many Renowned Hero's, as no Army ever had more; him whoſe name is as terrible at Oxford, as the Lord *Talbots* was in France, with the ſound whereof, at this day they ſtill or quiet their froward children, ſaying to them dreadfully, *Tatey le Talbot vien*, peace, *Talbot* comes: or as we in England fright our children with the name of Raw head, and bloody bones; I need not name him, but to cleare miſtakes, it is the redoubled, re-undaunted reſolute Colonell *Maſſy*: I ſhould pare and curtaile the luſtre of our Army, ſhould I not acknowledge that we have great heights of ſpirit and reſolution in many others our Colonells and Captaines, whom I ſhall pray to pardon me that I have not here an opportunity to diſcourſe their merits.

I acknowledge likewiſe the King to have many eminent worthy Commanders with him: it were happy for him and them that they had a cauſe equall; yet I ſay, amongſt them all, who indifferently well am knowne and underſtand them all; I ſhall attribute unto him on whom I have caſt mine eye a long time for his knowne bravery, that there is not among them all any ſurpaſſing the Lord *Wilmot*, whom it is a thouſand pities ever fell into

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so grosse error, as to take part with his King against his King, as you will shortly see all their great rejoycing vanish into smoake, and they curse their present mirth; for whereas before the losse at Poy, a small matter more had brought us into Accommodation; now is the Warre (with her two Divell dancing Virgins) Pestilence and Famine, afresh like to be revived into great extreames, before which be allayed, it is to be feared them that now laugh, will weep or lye full low.

Might it yet please the ever living Majesty of Heaven, to touch his Majesties heart on Earth, with the feeling of his peoples reluctations, that even cleave to the roofe of our mouthes, with howrely mourning for him, yet to returne unto his loving liege people, to embrace conditions of peace and trueth, so much am I a Traytor, and so rebellious to my Sovereigne, as to assume by permission of that High and most Honourable Court of Parliament, without whose approbation, it were not fit that any thing be founded, that may concerne the Subject generally, to proffer the condition of an hundred thousand pounds, if not more, per Annum, to be added unto His Majesties fullest Revenewes that ever he yet had, to Him and His Heires, in a way magnificent, equall to any Prince of Europe: Provided he returne to the condition of his Fathers his Predecessors Kings of England, to walk according to the rule and direction of Parliaments; a line so infallible, as no Monarch can be deceived in; which, that he may hearken unto, entertaine and accept, as the very pledges of his assurance to peace and happinesse, as the contrary must involvedly to be to utter ruine; Let every Loyall and true hearted Subject Pray, Amen.

Obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit.

Which I English thus: That had I twenty lives, and twenty Lords estates, so much am I a Roman in their Glory, not in their Religion, as I would sacrifice them all, for my Countrey and King, the one being permanent, the other momentary.

An example or president to the Rattle-headed, *rotten unfaithfull Traytors to their Countrey.*

WHen I was at the taking in of the City of Bristoll, under the command of Sir *Thomas Essex*, Knight and Colonell, afterward Governour thereof: We found the people according to our present generall condition of infatuation, mightily divided; some provided of Armes to take part with the King, that he might sway absolute, to have a power to controle and suppresse Parliaments, to be so farre above them, as His word should be a Parliament, without further need of such supreame Councells, though in all time they had beene the guide of this Nation; for such Armes cannot pretend or intend any thing diminitive, or lesse then that: another party equall to them in number ready in Armes to take part with the King and Parliament, that they might be joyned together; the King as the Male, the Head: the Parliament as the bearing party to procreate or bring forth a Royall issue of good and wholesome Lawes, the joy of the people; which howbeit were as faire a cause as ever men bore Armes in, yet would the contrary distempered Prerogative party, wrastle with them for maistrie, even to so evill a purpose: In this controversie they continued some while untill Colonell *Essex* with his men of Warre came before their Gates, yea even then would they have opposed had they dared: after his comming into the City they tasted of his gentlenes, directed by order of Parliament, managed by him their chiefe Commander in those parts; yet albeit they were not dealt withall with any rigour, yet were the chimera's of their braines unsatisfied, having longings after some unnecessary duties, wherein they might expresse somewhat to the King, whereby to magnifie and advance themselves, which

faction held ſtrongeſt in the Clergie there, and the Officers of the Cuſtome-houſe who abetted all the other, drawing ſome chiefe Merchants unto them, ſuch as were the unfortunate *Butchers* and *Yeomans*, as often appeared by their plottings and conſpiracies, ſhewing a fond deſire in them to have the Kings party there, which too ſoon happened that they had their wiſhes; whereupon like men glutted with joy, they ſhew all ſignes thereof, by Bells, Bonefires, ſhootings, acclamations, feaſtings, or all that might expreſſe them, the good people being forced to joyne with them therein, for it was now no time to have a ſolemne or diſcontented countenance for feare of the Plundermaſters diſpleaſure and ſeiſure: happily ſome few of the chiefe Incendiaries had the honour of Knight-hood, or other ſpecies of promotion, but none valuable or ſubſtantiall while this Warre thus rageth: but who ſo ſhall enquire throughout the whole City, how they like the Kings companies, they will tell you they finde their wives and daughters uſed, I ſay no more: they will tell you they finde their riches divided as booty; they finde taxes beyond the children of Ægypt, they finde themſelves in ſuch obedience as they dare not queteh for feare of impriſonment, or loſſe of lives: they will tell you if they durſt ſpeake, or were out of their clutches, they would rather loſe all they have, then come under them againe; yet I will undertake ſhould the Governour thereof require a Declaration under their hands and ſeales they would give it them, that never people behaved themſelves better, for they dare doe no other: I wiſh the like fortune befall all the reſt, that are ſo barbarous to take a part with His Majeſty, unduly to divide Him from His Parliament.

FINIS.

fashion hold themself in the Clergie there, and the Officers of the Customs-house who advised all the other, drawing some chiefe Merchants unto them, told as were the fortunate Planters and Tenants, as often appeared by their plottings and conspiracies, how we found divine right to have the King's party there, which too soon happened that they had their wishes; whereupon like men glutted with joy, they shew all signes thereof, by Bells, Bonefires, shooting, acclamation, feasting, or all that might expresse them, the good people being forced to joyne with them therein, for it was now no time to have a discontented countenance for fear of the Plantaters displeasure and feirce: happily some few of the chiefe Incendiaries had the honour of Knight-hood, or other species of promotion, but none valuable or influentiall while this Warre thus rageth: but who shall enquire throughout the whole Country, how they like the Kings companies, they will tell you they finde their wives and daughters ruled, I lay no more: they will tell you they finde their riches divided as booty; they finde taxes beyond the children of Israel: they finde themselves in such obedience as they dare not quarrell for feare of imprisonment, or lose of lives: they will tell you if they durst speake, or were out of their clutches, they would rather lose all they have, then come under them againe: yet I will undertake should the Governour thereof require a Declaration under their hands and seales they would give it them, whatever people behaved themselves better, for they dare doe no other: I wish the like fortune befall all the rest, that are so barbarous to take a part with His Majesty, undutyfull to divide Him from His Parliament.



The Dove brings information, and doth pray
She may have audience, and have no delay:
She tells of evills, and shews their full event,
She brings a cure, which may the evill prevent
Cumberland is lost, *Red castle* is surrendred,
Chester besieged, *Leverpoole* is rendred:
Banbury quaketh, *Basing* is not taken,
Donington is batter'd, not forsaken:
Oxford is burnt, *New castle* soundly storm'd,
The King is revealed, *Walter* is not harm'd.

Be wise as Serpents, innocent as Doves.

THE SCOTISH DOVE

Sent out, and Returning;

Brings Intelligence from the Armies of both Kingdomes, and relates other Passages observable for Information and Instruction.

From Friday the 4. of *October.* till Friday the 11. of the same. 1644.

THough this weeke hath not observed much matter of action worthy relation, yet the present evills of our condition calls for some information, and also for instruction (I meane not to the judicious, but to the simple) the evills of our present condition is not that our Armies lye still, but that we lose ground, and the enemy encroach-

ener oacheth upon us (I say nothing of treachery) but I instance the County of Lincolne, the Garison of Greenland (I pray God they goe no further) we have had warning enough to prevent what will not be so easily redeemed; as also the Counties of Stafford and Warwick, their dangers hath been foretold, and their burdens complained of &c. When the disease is growne past cure, hee will come too late; a living man may be preserved, but a dead man cannot be made alive: *A living Dogg* (saith *Solomon*) *is better then a dead Lyon.* We are not ignorant also of the insinuation of the Royall Army upon the quarters of Sir *William Waller's* Army, while we lye still in one place the enemy is active in another, if we weaken our selves by expensive delaies, we lay our selves open to a forraign enemy; hope deferred (saith the wise man) makes the heart sick: we hope for victorie, but we handle not our Armes; we hope for deliverance, but we seeke not to appease Gods anger, we see his hand is stretched out still: and no marvell, for if we increase our sins, God will augment our misery; we all cry out of the misery, but every man loves his sinne, who is the man, and where is he to be found, that *smites himself upon his thigh, saying, what have I done*; who forsakes his beloved sin, yea who loves not his Delilah above father, mother, brother, sister or Kingdome; the proud man is as high minded as ever, the ambitious man is no lesse ambitious, the covetous man more cruell in his oppression, and the seat of Iustice as unaccessible as ever, mens hearts are hardened, complements have banisht reality, policy hath devoured Religion, and each mans religion is according as he is of opinion, selfe, proud selfe is set up, and must have honour; *Herodian* pride attributeth to selfe what is due, and due only to God: selfe is duely served, Gods Worke neglected, his Worship prophaned, his holy Law dispised, sacred Scripture perverted; what is this but to forsake God, and shall not God forsake us? Is it not for this cause that God hideth his face from us, blasts our designes, scattereth our Armies, and causeth them to turne the back upon the enemy. The Prophet once complained of *Iudah*, that *according to the number of her Cities so were her gods*; I would it might not be as truely said of *England* at this day, that not according to our Cities only, but according to the number of our families so is our religion. What difference is there between setting up new gods, and framing to our selves new religions which God never commanded, nor allowed? what greater dishonour can be done to God, then to make his owne Law of no effect? what more

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dishonour to Iesus Christ, then to abuse that liberty which he hath so dearely purchased for us, to unlimited licentiousnesse? what can be expected but extreame confusion, when wilfull erring consciences shall plead for freedome, against the Justice of Divine and humane Lawes? I know no man can compell the conscience of another, nor doe I think it warrantable to punish a man for all erroneous opinion, but to instruct him; yet if such an erring conscience will be obstinate, not contented to enjoy its owne peace, but will seduce others, and steale away the hearts of other men and women, in opposition to Law, and to Authority, I am sure the Magistrates (much more the Parliament) may, and ought to punish the persons of such men, that shall thereby disturbe the peace of the Church or State: If it be true as I have heard, of the speeches of one that is a Church-gathering Minister in this City, speaking of the Honourable Parliament, and Reverend Synod, dishonourably, and irreverendly, I shall feare lest his sin equall the sin of *Korah* and his company. The most holy man is the most humble man, and the man that that is most humble will not say to his brother, *Stand by thy selfe, come not neare to me*, for I am holier *then thou*: If we will learne of the holy Apostle, we must labour to *be of one mind, to live in peace, and the God of love and peace will be with us*. God hath by his own hand given a happy Parliament, for so (I doubt not) it will appeare in the end, and a learned assembly of holy men; let us with patience waite on God, and power forth our soules in prayer to God to direct them, and resolve to submit to Order, according to the will, and Word of God.

There is an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons now published for the ordination of Ministers, he that is ordained is first to be examined of his integrity, and proficiency in study, and degrees in the University, and that he be not lesse then of the age of 24. yeares, that he be of honest and blamelesse life and conversation: secondly, to inquire touching the grace of God in him, and of his holy life becomming a Minister of the Gospell, and of the evidence of his inward calling to the Ministery, and of his faire and direct outward calling to his particular place &c. as followeth in the said Ordinance; for my part I blesse God Almighty, that such a thing hath passed by the Authority of Parliament, and assent of the Learned Assembly; and doe looke upon the Act, as a presage from Heaven of a blessing intended towards the Kingdome, which no doubt will be hastened to us; if we by our sinfull murmurings, and refragate and re-

fractory wilfulneſſe deferre it not, God will ſurely doe his worke; but whether for us, or for our children we know not; our prayers hitherto hath been not much unlike to that of the *Iſraelites* in the Wilderneſſe, thoſe that were the ſearchers of the land murmured, and diſcouraged the people, and therefore dyed in the Wilderneſſe, I pray God it may not be ſo with us, for our Leaders have looked back to Egypt, and coveted the Fleſh-pots, the Onions, and the Garlick of Egypt. Gaine and cowardize have loſt much time in this publick ſervice, and the averſneſſe in opinions about trifles are like to loſe more time, and procure more miſery to the Kingdomes, except God by his over-ruling power prevent. My inſtruction (or rather advice) is, that we all ſeriouſly conſider, firſt the grounds from whence ſuch deviſions ariſe, and that is ſpirituall pride, oſtentation, vaine glory, &c. Secondly, the diſhonour to God and Religion; Thirdly, the danger of them to the Church and State; Fourthly, the woe denounced againſt them by whom they come, or that joyne with them, the company of *Korah* periſhed with *Korah*: have we not all one Father? are we not all baptized into one Chriſt? is there any more then one ſaving faith? are not we all brethren? then give me leave to ſay as *Abraham* ſaid to *Lot*, when there began to be ſtrife between their Heardſmen: *Let there be no ſtrife I pray thee between thee and me, nor between thy Heard-men and my Heardſmen, for we are brethren.* It is *Pauls* exhortation to all Chriſtians, I *beſeech you Brethren, by the name of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, that ye all ſpeake the ſame thing, and that there be no deviſions among you*; but that they be perfectly joyned together in the ſame mind, and in the ſame judgement; *for God is not the Author of unquietneſſe, but of peace.*

What need there is of peace among Chriſts owne members, we ſenſibly ſee and feele, for by our variance the enemie gets ſtrength, plots treachery, and acts accordingly, which advantage we give by our differences among our ſelves; whereas if we would all agree, and unanimouſly oppoſe the common enemy, the Church and Common-wealth of theſe three Kingdomes would be happy and bleſſed: For other intelligence the time affords not much, little action hath been, report was brought that five hundred Horſe were taken and ſlaine of the enemy in the county of Lincoln, this was but a report; the truth is, the enemy hath done very great ſpoile in thoſe parts, without any conſiderable check, and have taken Crowland Abby, which is a very ſtrong place, and well mann'd, ſufficient to have

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kept out an Army of ten thousand men; there was in the Towne and Abby about eight hundred souldiers, but they were secure like the men of *Laish*; notwithstanding the enemy was about them in the Country, and by the treachery of the Towne-men the enemy had accommodation with Boats in the night, by which they came in and fell suddenly upon a few weake men that kept the guard, and so surprised our men in their beds, and easily possessed the strongest and richest part of all the North-east parts of *England*; it would with care easily have been kept, but not regained without difficulty and charge.

It is certified from the North-west, that Chester is besieged at distance, so as they are kept in, and provisions kept out; some good may be done there if God give a blessing to endeavour. Leverpoole is still besieged, but I have no certaine intelligence of any particulars from those parts, if any come this day I shall insert it in the end of my sheet.

It is certified that Sir *Thomas Midleton* hath taken a Castle in Wales called Red-castle, it is the Lord *Powises* Castle, and he himselfe is said to be taken in it; things succeed well in those parts. There hath also been a generall report of severall things done by that valiant gentleman Colonell *Massey*, but I have no confirmation of those reports; he is so frequent in action that men begin to conceive, he can act as fast as they can thinke.

The five Regiments of the City are marcht out on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, Sir *Iames Harrington* is their Major Generall: what service they are to be imployed on, or with which Army joyned, you shall heare hereafter.

His Excellency the Earl of *Essex* hath his Artillery and Waggons prepared, and sent to him on Wednesday last, I doubt not but he will be shortly in the field, to avenge himself as a Souldier upon the perfidious enemy, for their treachery and cruelty; perfidious unstable Col. *Hurry* is come from the King, and with him nine Horse, also Col. *Ware* is come with him; Col. *Hurry* came voluntarily to Sir *William Waller*, and from thence to London. Colonell *Hurry* was on Munday in examination before the Committee of both Kingdomes, their examinations and answers are not known; for the occasion of Colonell *Hurry* leaving of the King is said to be thus; The King by advice was intended to send him with P. *Ruperts* into Scotland to worke some mischief there, which when the King moved to *Hurry*, in the presence of P. *Ruperts*, *Hurry* disliked the designe; P.

Ruperts

Rupert replyed, *Hurry* durst not goe; which reply drew other hot words: insomuch that Col. *Hurry* laid down his Commission, and afterward prevailed with the King for a Passe into *France*, and so to *Denmark*, but came directly to Sir *William Waller*: it is by some affirmed, that if he had not presently come away, he had been imprisoned; he being (upon the Kings grant of a Passe) accused of things of a high nature.

It is credibly informed that the enemy in the County of Stafford grow numerous, come to the walls of Stafford, and are re-fortifying some demolished Garisons, which the County are not able to hinder. There are also some differences in the County, some few of the Committee being of a contrary mind to the rest. I have often complained of particular ends in men, and it is visible to all, that it is the retarding of the worke. The County have lately presented a second Petition to the Parliament, for the speedy sending down the Right Honorable the Lord *Denbigh* to be their Commander in chief; which the House have taken into consideration, and he will be by order send downe forthwith: All the Committee have superscribed to the Petition except two or three, or foure at most.

The County of Warwick hath also petitioned for his Lordships speedy comming down into that County (as some weekes past I have told you) but their Petition hath met with some rubs, in respect of many grievances of that County, which they withall humbly desire to have eased: now (by the favour of the Parliament) they are in a way to have a present dispatch, and just redresse. The County (though but small) is charged with 110. l. a weeke, besides all Sequestrations and other incomes, and yet by reason of the many unnecessary Garisons (as they conceive) they have no Army to secure the County, but private men devoure all, and the County is liable to continuall plunder. On Fryday last the enemy from Liechfield came to Merriden and plundered, which is but foure little miles from Coventry; they also came to Barkswell, to Sir *Robert Listens* house (a like distance) and wholly plundered his house, and carried away sir *Thomas* to Liechfield prisoner.

It is certain that Col. *Ashton* Governour of Oxford, as he was prauncing through the streets in Oxford, his horse fell with him, and broke his legge, which gangrin'd, and is cut off above the knee; since it is gangrin'd higher, and their governour is in danger to depart from Oxford into the caves of darknesse: here observe the just hand of God upon him, who usually punisheth sin by the same kind.

Ashton

Ashton adjudged a Souldier in the Town (to whom he bare a grudge) that was accused before him for striking another Souldier, That he should have his hand cut off; and no entreaty could revoke the sentence, but himself would stand by to see it executed, and to make his pain extreme, he would not let it be cut off, but would have it sawd; and to that end, he caused his thumb, and middle finger to be nailed to a post, and his body held out by strength, and so sawed it off, above the wrist: Now God hath made him know what it is to have a joynt sawed off.

There was a great fire in *Oxford*, and many houses burnt, the number is variously reported, some say a hundred, some say above two hundred; but the last and truest Intelligence sayes there was 330 houses burnt. It is certain, that the fire began in a Fidling prophane Tap-house in Saint *Giles* Parish, about one or two of the clock in the Afternoon, the last Lords day, where divers of the prophane Antichristian-brood had all day abused themselves, and prophaned Gods Holy-day, by drunkennesse, musick, and scurrilous Songs. Saint *Giles* Church is burnt; and so up the Town, till it came to *Carfax*, the devouring fire consumed all before it.

At *Guildhall London*, on Tuesday last, the Court Marshall sate, and there condemned three men: One was Captain *Syppins*, for betraying the Island of *Garnsey*; the other was a Countrey man, who was used as an instrument to betray the Garrison, called *Rossel-Hall*, lately taken by the Earl of *Denbigh*; the third was one *William Iames*, who was a foot Souldier to the Lord Generals Army, and received his advance money, run from his Colours; and now condemned justly, for example to others. All these are to be executed (as is said) on Saterday next.

Basing House is in the same condition it was, not taken, nor unbesieged: *Dunington* Castle is exceedingly battered, but they hang out a broken Flag; and in scorn they hang a great Faggot over the Wals: they refuse to yield upon any conditions. *Banbury* is in the same condition: but neerer taking, because Powder is scarce in the Castle: the besiegers do fortifie the Town, and will starve them out, if other stratagems fail.

From *Leverpool*, we understand, that the besiegers do continue both by Sea and Land, and that the besieged are in want of Ammunition, and scarce of victuall: They have offered to yield upon condition to have quarter; but because there are many of the bloody Irish there, who used such barbarous cruelty at *Boulton*:

the

the beſiegers refuſe to give them quarter, but offer quarter to all the Engliſh.

The two Iriſh Lord-Rebels that of late broke priſon and are retaken, of whom I told you laſt weeke that they were to come to their Tryall on Wednesday laſt, their Tryall is now adjourned for good conſiderations.

For my Lord of Manchesters Army I can ſay nothing, when they have done any thing if I know it I will give you intelligence of it, they are at Reading, and Marlbrough, and thereabouts.

There is a confirmation of a brave ſervice done by Colonell *Maſſey*, which was before ſpoken of, but not confirmed till this day; in briefe, he hath with a ſmall party of horſe and foot, not ſeaven hundred, routed two hundred and fifty of the enemy, taken fifty priſoners, and ſlaine ſeventy, it was done neere Munmouth.

From Newcaſtle we have nothing new, but expectation every day of good newes from thence; the Town is ſtormed, and ſeverall mines are yet to be ſprung, their hopes are good, but what the event will be is in Gods diſpoſe; we will waite on him, and expect God thereby. The Counties of Northumberland, Weſtmerland, and Cumberland goe on unanimouſly in an Aſſociation, and this is good newes. God make them proſperous, and give them good ſucceſſe.

The Corniſh men that know no other God but a King, who all flocked together againſt the Lord Generall to make themſelves ſlaves, have utterly refuſed to ſtir beyond the bounds of their owne County with their King, there they leave him. The Devonſhire men their neighbours have learned their garbe, and love not to ſtay long from their Whipot; they drop away from his Majeſty, if he will retreat with them he may, elſe he muſt take his fortune, for they will not advance forward with him: and I am credibly informed the King is retreated from Crookhorne, and Sherburne, but whether he will fall quite back, or whether wing about to Briſtoll, a little time will tell you.

There is of the Kings Plate that was found hid in the Tower as much as is worth five thouſand pound, which was once ſent beyond ſea, but it returned for better ſervice: it is to be coyned, and the coyne will be well entertained in Major Generall *Brownes* quarters.

The rebellious Sopheſter Sir *Hugh Cholmley* hath taken with their Scarsbury Ships, twenty ſayle and upwards of London Coale ſhips, laden with Coales to London, which is a very great evill, and may be thought neglect that theſe ſhips are not better guarded at this time.

Printed according to Order for *L. C.* 1644.

Numb. 49.

The true Informer:

Continuing a Collection of the most Speciall and Observable

PASSAGES,

From divers parts of the Kingdome, and from

His Majesty.	P. Rupert.	Sir Tho. Middleton.
Lord Generall.	Sir William Waller.	M. Generall Brown.
E. of Manchest.	Sir Fra. Dorrington.	Col. Massey.

From Saturday Octob. 5. *to Saturday* Octob. 12. 1644.

A great overthrow given to the enemy in Glocestershire by Colonel Massey. *The discontent between His Majesty and P.* Rupert, *of P.* Ruperts *displacing Sir* Francis Hiley *Governour of Bristoll, and his desire to desert the King and go out of the Kingdome. His Majesties Proclamation for adjourning the Oxford Parliament till Novemb.* 19. *Red-Castle in Wales taken by Sir* Tho. Middleton, *and therein the L.* Powis, *his brother, and two sonnes, divers Officers,* 80. *Souldiers, much treasure and Ammunition. Sir* Fra. Dorringtons *laying down his Commission, and the Archbishops Triall on Friday last.*

ALthough the beginning of this weeke was very barren of newes, yet the latter end hath supplied that defect, and hath produced much intelligence, and that also much conducing to the advantage of the Parliament. I shall not need therefore to make any large recitall of things formerly published, but present you with those relations that have been informed the latter end of this weeke.

His Majesties Army, notwithstanding all their great flourishes, are (as we heare) in a retreating posture, and are gone backe from Crookhorne and Chard, intending (as is thought) to wheele about for Bristoll, where His Majesty, as is conceived, will keep his winter Quarters. It was reported on Thursday last Octob. 10. that Sir *William Waller* had fallen into the Kings Quarters, and taken sevenscore horse, but for the more certainty thereof, I referre you to the latter end of this intelligence.

Abbington.

Major Generall *Brown* still continues at Abbington with the London Auxiliaries, who often advance under the wals of Oxford, but the Garrison of that town and Vniversity (although they have now changed their *Pallas* and *Apollo* for *Mars* and *Vulcan*) dare not once to appeare against them, although they divers times seize upon some of their Scouts, and other straglers: for that great and fearfull fire which happened the beginning of this week at Oxford, some Relations have been made thereof, yet that I may not passe by so remarkable a passage, I shall here impart the Contents of a Letter from Abbington concerning that and some other particulars.

Extract of a Letter from Abbington, dated Octob. 7. 1644.

Yesterday being the Lords Day, there happened a very great fire in Oxford, insomuch that we could easily discerne the flame at Abbington: it began about noone, and continued till midnight: by that fire the City is much ruinated: This morning our Major Generall, with the Field-Officers, and divers other Commanders, and about three Troupes of Horse went towards it; we burnt one of their mills (which was formerly very advantagious to them) pull'd downe two of their chiefest Centry Houses, and tooke three or foure prisoners with horse and armes, one of which saith, that about 300. houses are burnt in six severall Parishes. How this fire came, is variously reported; by roasting of a pig saith, one; by leaving the wax candles burning upon the Altar, saith another; but a third, by providing too hastily for the Kings coming on Tuesday, they over-heated their houses, and may now coole themselves at leisure. But howsoever some may wittily descant upon it, I cannot but looke upon it as a very sad accident, in regard it is not likely to be any advantage to us (not any of their Magazines or store-houses, as I can yet heare of, being toucht) but

but will bee a very exceeding great detriment to many of inhabitants of the towne, some of which I cannot but in charity think were persons well affected to the Parliament. I heare also from Oxford, that there is much danger likely to come to the inhabitants thereof, by reason that divers of these houses were visited with the plague, and those that were in them went forth amongst others, so that it may cause the infection to spread very much in that City.

London.

The five Regiments designed by Ordinance of Parliament to march out of the City, and to joyne themselves, one partie to the Earle of *Essex*, and the other to the Earle of *Manchester*, or to serve as a Reserve, as occasion shal require, marcht out of the City on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday last; Sir *James Harington* is appointed to be Major General of the Brigade, their Companies are all very compleate for number, the men very couragious, and well Armed, so that these five Regiments will be far more numerous and strong then any Regiments in the Kings Army.

Shropshire.

By Letters from Welchpoole, in Shropshire, brought to Towne on Thursday last, it was advertised, That Sir *Thomas Middleton* had taken Red-Castle, a place of very great consequence, and one of the strongest of the Enemies Holds in North-Wales; The manner of the taking thereof is related to be thus: The Enemy in this Castle, (the Lord *Powis* a grand Papist being Governour and owner thereof) did often oppose and interrupt the bringing in of provisions unto our Forces at Mountgomery Castle, whereupon Sir *Thomas Middleton* summoned the whole County thereabouts to come in unto him, and on Munday the last of September advanced from Mountgomery unto Poole with 300. Foote, and 100. Horse, where they quartered Munday and Tuesday night: And on Wednesday morning at two M. *John Arundell* Master Gunner to Sir *Thomas Middleton* placed a petarre against the outergate which burst the gate in pieces and (notwithstanding the many showers of stones thrown from the Castle by the Enemy) Sir *Thomas Middletons* Foote commanded by Captaine *Hugh Massey*, and Major *Henry Ket*, rushed into the Enemies Works, got into the Porch of the Castle, and so stormed

so stormed the Castle gate, entred it, and possest themselves both of the old and new Castle, and of all the plate, provisions, and goods there, which was great store, that had been brought from all parts thereabouts: they tooke therein prisoners the Lord *Powis* and his brother, with his two sonnes, three Captains, one Lievtenant, and 80. Officers and common Souldiers: the place is of very great concernment, for before the taking thereof it did much mischief to the Countrey, and almost blockt up the passages to Montgomery Castle from Oswestry, so that now the strongest Forts in all North-Wales are in the possession of the Parliament, this being conceived of strength sufficient to hold out a years siege, and to be able to keep out ten thousand men for a yeare, it having at present sufficient provision in it of all sorts for that continuance. Besides this, Sir *Thomas Middleton* hath now the command of all North-Wales, and can raise men there at his pleasure.

Westminster.

This week the Recorder of London sate in the Old-Baily about the Triall of the two Irish Rebels, *Macquere* and *Macmahun* (as I told you last weeke: also the Lievtenant of the Tower appeared there, but the Evidences against them being not then finished, their Triall was adjourned, according to Order of Parliament, to be the first day of the next Terme at the Kings Bench Barre, against which time every thing is to be prepared in readinesse, the Judges to be consulted with, and all that had an hand in their escape to be likewise tried.

Friday the 11. of this instant October the House of Commons passed an Ordinance for the raising of two thousand pound for the Garrison of Plymouth, which for the present is to be paid by the Committee at Haberdashers Hall, and they were to be repaid out of the moneyes to be received upon the sequestration of the Earle of *Newports* and the Earle of *Chesterfields* estates.

Ordered, That an hundred pound be paid by the Committee at Haberdashers Hall to *Abraham Bell* Apothecarie.

His Majesty hath lately published a Proclamation for the adjourning of the pretended Parliament, which was intended to meet at

Oxford

Oxford the 8. of this instant October, but by reason that the passages and wayes thither are much stopt, which may hinder their coming thither, he declares his pleasure to be, That they shall meet there the 19. of November next. Before which time it is hoped the Propositions which are now almost perfected, will be presented to His Majesty, in which some of the members of that Convention may finde their just doome, for so perfidiously betraying the trust reposed in them by their Countrey, and taking part with the Papists and Delinquents against the Parliament.

The names of divers of these that are excepted as incapable of pardon by these Propositions have been already published, they are in all 38. some of which it is not fit to mention till they be sent. Those which are most notorious, and thought incapable of any indifferent persons, are, P. *Rupert*, P. *Maurice*, the E. of *Bristol*, the L. *Digby*, Col. *Goring*, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Wren*, and the *Lord Pawlet*.

We heare that His Majesty hath lately made divers new Lords, the most eminent of his Favourites, and sticklers in this businesse against the Parliament, viz. *Sir Richard Greenvile*, *Sir Thomas Glemham*, *Sir Jacob Astley*, and *Sir Arthur Aston*. If His Majesty proceed thus to increase the number of Lords, the number of Peeres will shortly equalize the Commons, though for estate I believe there will be no great difference.

This day also the House of Commons ordered the Committee which were appointed for raising of moneyes for the maintenance of the City Brigade, to meet in the afternoone in the Star-Chamber, and Sir *Henry Cholmley*, M. *Deuse*, and Sir *Samuel Roll* were added to that Committee.

Friday Octob. 11. the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was brought to the House of Peeres, where (according to Order) his Councell appeared to speak in his defence in point of Law: That which they had to say in his behalfe, was delivered by M. *Herne*, the substance whereof was as followeth:

That he did conceive the worke of the day to be of very great and high concernment, being about the life of an Archbishop, one that had attained the highest dignity in the Church of England: That as it was the care and duty of himselfe, and the rest that were assigned

Counsell

Counsell for him, to be wary that they offered nothing to administer a just defence, so there was no lesse a duty upon them that they should not be found unfaithfull, to omit any thing that might tend to the just defence of their Client. That he would not meddle with any particular matter of fact, but onely with such of the Articles as were necessary to be spoken of in point of Law. The method that he proceeded in was first to reduce the whole Charge to these three generall heads.

1 *A traiterous indeavour to subvert the fundamentall Lawes of the Realme, and instead thereof to introduce an arbitrary Government*, and is contained in the first of the originall, and the first of the additionall Arricles.

2 *A traiterous indeavour to alter the true Religion established in this Kingdome, and to introduce Popery*, &c. contained in the 7. originall, and 7 additionall Article.

3 *That he laboured to subvert the Rights of Parliament, &c.* in the 4. originall, and the 10. additionall Articles.

After this he craved leave to propound to their Lordships as followeth.

1 Whether there be at this day any other Treason then what is declared by 25. *Ed.* 3. *cap.* 2. or enacted by other Statute concerning Treason since.

2 Whether any of the matters in any of the Articles charged contained any of the Treasons in that Law.

That he and the rest of the Counsell conceived they did not; for clearing of which he insisted thus:

1 That an indeavouring to subvert the Fundamentall Lawes was not Treason, either by the Statute of 25. *E.* 3. or any other particular Act since.

2. That not any of these particular instances in any of these Articles were Treason either in that of 25. *E.* 3. or in any other statute since.

From the first he observed (after the reading of the Statute) That as he conceived, That Law was the Standard, and Tryall in the case before their Lordships, and therefore desired to know which of those Treasons were continued in those Articles, and next laid this ground, That this Act it ought not to construed by equity, nor inference; it was a Declaration Law, and no Declarative ought to be upon

on a Declaration. He instanced in the counterfeiting the coyne of this Kingdome, which by that Statute was made Treason; Afterwards, many filed, washt, clipt, the coyn, this was a reducing of the coyne to that that was not coyn, but distinctive to it, yet in 3. H. 5. when the question was in Parliament, whether this were Treason by that Stature of E. 3. or no, and resolved that it was not, but made an Act for making that Treason which before was none.

The result of which, and other particulars then recited by him was this: That whatsoever was not declared to bee a Treason within the letter of this Law, may not be judged Treason.

Then he fell upon the second Question, from whence he observed, That although he must acknowledge that the Charges appeared to be very great and enormous crimes, yet they were not Treason by any established Law in this Kingdome.

1 That to subvert the fundamentall Lawes was not treason. Referred it to 15. E. 3.

2 To indeavour to subvert the Lawes was not Treason.

3 The subversion of the Law was an impossible thing, and therefore to do any act which cannot be effected cannot be a Treason.

4 That the indeavouring to subvert the Lawes hath beene no determinate crime, but hath been often found as an aggravation of crimes.

For his severall inlargements upon these and other particulars concerning Religion, I shall omit them for the present, with this caution: That notwithstanding these or any other specious and Straffordian Pleas, a satisfactory answer will shortly be given to each of these particulars, and a speedy course taken, by the wisdome of the honourable House of Commons, and those worthy Members they shall imploy,

ploy to satisfie the generall expectations of the Kingdome, by bringing this grand Incendiarie to receive his finall sentence, and to suffer according to his deserts; I shall onely now observe thus much, That in that very Statute of 25. E. 3. so much urged by the Archb. Councell, there is a clause whereby it is solely left to the Parliament to determine, declare, and absolutely resolve what is Treason, either by that or any other States.

Colonell *Luterd* who was Governour of Barstaple, and came thence with about 400. men, hath desired that his men may be added to the Regiment of my Lord Generall.

There are some Letters come from Colonell *Massey*, that he hath routed a great partie of Horse and Foote of the Enemies, taken and slaine some hundreds of them, but the particulars of it are not yet certified. Prince *Rupert* hath also displaced Colonell *Veale* from being the Governour of Bartlet Castle, and hath made one *Poore*, an Irish Rebell, Governour thereof.

Portsmouth.

Friday last, There came Letters from Portsmouth, dated October 8. informing, That the King is about Sherburne, and Evill: Colonell *Dalbier* at Blanford, and Sir *William Waller* at Salisbury: That upon Thursday last Prince *Rupert* was at Bridgewater where the Lord *Digbigh* met him, and went with him thence to the King, by whom he was entertained with little respect, whereupon he immediately returned to Bristoll, and in a fury displaced the Governour Sir *Francis Haley* and committed him to Prison from whence he escaped, and more will be shorty heard of this businesse, the Prince having some desire to goe beyond Sea. The same Letters informe, That Sir *Francis Dorrington* hath laine downe his Commission; There are many distractions in the Kings Army, by reason that *Hurry* is come in, who can discover so much of the secrets of their Army.

Printed for *Tho. Bates*, at the Signe of the Maidenhead on Snow-Hill neere Holborne Conduit, and for *J. W. J.* in the Old-Baily. 1644.

18.
K. P. Oxford

MERCVRIVS AVLICVS,

Communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court, to the rest of the KINGDOME.

BRITISH MUSEUM

The 37 Weeke, ending Septemb. 14. 1644.

SUNDAY. *Septemb.* 8.

WE purposed hereafter not to mention the Lady *Waller*, not for that the *Londoners* begin to undervalue her, nor because the Lady *Gell* bids faire for her place (which would draw us on a double taske.) Yet though we forbeare, They at *Westminster* will not; for this last weeke at a sober debate, why Sir *William Waller* stayed so long at *Farnham*, and advanced not into the West, it was agreed by most that her Ladiship was the cause of it. Whereupon Sir *Nevill Poole* stood up and spake these words:

Master Speaker, *I have read in Stories of a Fish in the Sea called a* Remora, *which though a little one, is able and doth often hinder a Ship from going, though never so bigge and under sayle. Master* Speaker, *my Lady Waller is this* Remora, (a Mermaid) *Sir* William *is the Ship under sayle, and bound for a Voyage of great consequence, but this* Remora *stayes him. Master* Speaker, *In my fewce, it were good this* Remora *should be remov'd.*

'Tis certaine the *Conqueresse* hath beene vanquish'd by his Lady, and 'tis as certaine that she first was a maine cause and encourager of her husbands Rebellion, which is the very reason why her Ladiship of late hath beene found so oft in print.

MONDAY. *Sept.* 9.

But if Sir *William* be a Ship, 'tis pitifully battered, and (such an one as knowes not now where to anchor; in his motion Westward he finds (small) comfort, even by example of his corrivall Master *Massey*, who hath beene this weeke welcomed at *Berkley Castle*; On Friday last he came before the Castle, and (as became a *Right Honourable* man) sent in this summons.

To Collonell Veel *Governour of* Berkely *Castle and to his Officers therein.*

YOu are hereby summoned immediately upon sight hereof to render unto me to the use of the King and Parliament, the Castle of Berkely with all the Armes and Ammunition within the same. And I doe hereby ingage mine Honour to give unto you, your Officers and Souldiers, free quarter with liberty to passe to what other Garrison you please. And if any shall be willing to take imployment under me, they shall have the same condition of Service as they now have. But if any shall refuse this tender of so Great Mercy, and enforce me to draw up my Artillery. Then you cannot expect Quarter, nor any other, then what the extremity of Fire and Sword may bring upon you.

Edward Massie.

These are fine things, *Engage mine Honour*, —*tender of so Great Mercy*, —*Fire and Sword*— But the resolute Governour Colonell *Veel* knew Master *Massey* too well to trust *His Honour*, and therefore fear'd not his *Fire and Sword*, but scorn'd his *tender of Great Mercy*, as appeares by this his Answer.

To Colonell Massie.

IS it possible for Colonell Massie *to believe that his Artillery can frighten me from my Loyalty and allegiance to his Majesty; or that fire and Sword can inforce me to yeild up the Castle to him. No Sir I value not your summons, and I am resolved never to prove a Traytor to that trust which is reposed in me, but will keepe it to his Majesties use. manage your force, and this Sir, assure your selfe is the resolution of*

Thom. Veel.

Upon receipt of this Answer Master *Massey* presently begirt the Castle round, with 600 foot and 400 horse, but was so sufficiently knockt, that on Sunday last he marched home again, having buried very many in the Towne before his departure, and carrying away 40 and odde wounded Officers and Souldiers to *Gloucester*, without the least mention of *fire and sword*, *Great Mercy* or *Honour*.

TUESDAY. *Sept.* 10.

Before Master *Massey* came to *Berkeley* Castle, he came to *Laysdon*, and faced *Bath*, where seeing the Garrison resolute to oppose him, he tooke his leave, but a party of *Bath* Horse fell on his Quarters next morning, and brought away halfe a score Prisoners with their Horses and Armes. Some straggling Rebels from *Wedmore* came to *Wells*, and forced the Towne to pay 200l Contribution, which done (like perfidious sharks) they fell to plunder the Towne, but very luckily light onely on some notorious Brethren, as one *Hacket* and 6 or 7 others, at last all the Towne (both short haire and long) rose as one man, and beat away the Robbers. To suppresse these pilfering Rebels, Major *Paulet* marched out of *Bath* with 70 Horse on Sunday last, and neare *Wedmore* found many of these Rebels got together to resist him in a Lane; the Major having six Dragoons, caused them to charge through a hedge, which made the Rebels stagger, and then presently fell in with his Horse, killed 9 in the place, and brought 23 Prisoners into *Bath*. And just such another party as this, went out from *Newarke* on Thursday was seavenight (commanded by Lieutenant Colonell *Rolleston*) consisting of 60 Troopers, most of them Gentlemen; they crossed the *Trent*, and neare the *Spittle* 10 miles beyond *Lincolne*, they met a Troop of Rebels in a Lane, who most of them presently yeilded without a blow, so as they brought 30 of them Prisoners into *Newarke*.

These and the like disturbances made the *Prince of the Association* forsake *Lincolne* and those parts, and move up into *Bedfordshire*, where (a strange sicknes having much consumed his Army as it did *Wallers* before) he presseth all before him; the poore people sensible of the danger of an infected Army,

did runne and hide themselves, but were brought on horse-backe towards *Bedford*, with bloud running downe their faces, beaten and kickt for refusing to serve so cruell a Master as the Lord *Kimbolton*; Most of them runne away, if one of in ten pressed men be got to march along, 'tis more then most doe; the truth is, they find such unexpressible barbarous usage, that all fly off, insomuch that at *Toddington* in *Bedfordshire* they were faine to presse the Constable, and many that yet are not 14 yeares old, so as this Towne of *Toddington* rose up and beat the Rebels out, till more Troopes came and kill'd divers Townesmen.

Some of his Lordships forces are joined to the Rebells before *Banbury*, who have spent so much shot in vaine that they have beene a weeke almost silent. But now they are raising a new battery; for Master *John Fines* sayes, *he must needs take the Castle before he come away, because he hath continued the siege contrary to Order.* And 'twere pitty but that Sir *William Compton* and Lieutenant Colonell *Greene* would consider Master *Fines* his Condition, the poore Gentleman else will shed some more teares in *Banbury*.

And doubtlesse he will weepe if he happen to read such excellent lamentable expressions, as his friends from *Abingdon* sent this weeke in their Letters to *London*, but were intercepted on the way by Colonell *Gage* his Scouts, whereof wee'll tell you more next weeke. The onely thing these Brethren of *Banbury* bragge of, (and 'tis this weeke printed in every Pamphlet) is, *That they tooke two or three Prisoners at* Wolvercott *Church*; and one of them sayes, *they had like to have taken the Earle of* Dorset *Prisoner, with seaven of his Actresses together*, which is so ridiculous a forgery, that his Lordship for these three moneths hath not gone forth of the Workes of *Oxford*, though in so perfect health, that these uncleane Pamphlets thinke fit to slaunder him for going abroad with 7 Mistresses; which fowle language would suit better with their *Lord Protector of the Sea* (as his owne blasphemous Captaine stiled him) who still to perfect his old notorious liberty, that he called VENUS ORTA MARI to be gilded on one of his new built Ships.

But

But the Rebells will be perfecter in this rotten talke, should the *Scots* settle, who (thanks be to God) have beene so throughly banged by the brave men of *New-Castle*, that the Blue-Caps are either gone or about to quit their Station, whole hundreds killed in a Morning, and as many in the Evening; in so much, that now they can get none to goe on; all which is heightned by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* good condition, who on Thursday was seavenight was placing a piece of Canon against *Hemsley* Castle in *Yorkeshire* (which holds out gallantly, and is in no manner of want) was shot into the shoulder, the bone broken (just as *John Hambden*) whereby all conclude Sir *Thomas* hath his deaths wound, and (at best) must quarter in his Chamber this winter; his Father the Lord *Ferdinando* being not two thousand strong, both Horse and Foot, and yet not much inferiour to the *Scots*, though they are stronger then the Earle of *Essex*, who is come to *London*, but how he came thither, we shall forbeare to mention.

WEDNESDAY. *Sept.* 11.

But all this was done contrary to the appointment of the Lord *Say* and Lord *Maitland* the *Scot*, who on the fifth day of *August* last (the day of *Gowries* Conspiracy) sent their Commands to the Committee of *Hampshire* before *Basing* House, in these very words.

Gentlemen,

Wee have received information that the Garrison in Basing *is in great want of match, and therefore we conceive if you keepe them in continuall alarm's they will not be able to hold out for want thereof. Which is all for present we shall trouble you with;*

Derby *House* William Say *and* Scale.
August 5. John Maitland

You see by the Lord *Maitland* that the Scots are not satisfied to invade *England* 3 times in 4 yeares, to subject our *Lawes* in the English Lords houses without the Lords and Commons consent, to feast and goe rich at the *Londoners* charge, but to sit sowing at *Westminster* in the newest fashion a Convention (the rebellious *State-Committee*) but they concurre also in every single act and circumstance of this Rebellion, to the Rebell [illegible] *Basing*

sing must skirmish and fall on according to the dictate of the good Lord *Maitland*.

But since they are so carefull for *Basing*, we here afford you a particular relation of it, that the State Committee may see how their order was executed, which was signed by 3 Rebels, viz. the Lord *Maitland*, the Lord *Say* and *Seale*.

THURSDAY, *Sept.* 12.

Upon Monday the ninth of *September* at ten of the clocke at night, Colonell *Henry Gage* marched out of *Oxford* with a good body of Horse and Foot, and towards morning he came neare *Wallingford*, where a Troop of Horse and 50 Foot adjoyned themselves unto him; with these he marched all day, under whom Major *Windebank* had charge of the Foot; Colonell *Webb* of that part of the Horse which were Gentlemen Volunteirs; The Governours Troops were commanded by Lieutenant Colonell *Boucle*; The Horse from *Borstall* by Lieutenant Colonell *Campian*, and those from *Wallingford* by Captaine *Walters*. who taking so long a march, and not resting upon the way above three houres; the Foot were extreamely wearyed, which the prudent Colonell perceiving, he lighted himselfe from his Horse (by whose example and intreaty all the other Officers and Troopers did the like) and walked three miles on foot, a great refreshing to the wearyed Souldiers; and by helpe whereof he came about nine in the evening to *Aldermeston*, seaven miles from *Basing*; Here the Forlorne Hope met with a Partee of the Rebels, who came from *Reading* purposely (as themselves confesse) to burne the *Common Prayer-Booke* and *Surplice*, killed one of them, and tooke six of them with their Horses and Pistols. From hence he marched about one in the morning, so tyred, that the Foot seemed much dejected; and being come within two miles of the Rebels, began to lie downe, as not able to advance further; The Colonell therefore caused all his Horse againe to carry every man one of them up behind him, himselfe being the first which did it; which unwonted courtesie so tooke them, that they wholly forgot their former wearinesse, and desired nothing now, but presently to attack the Rebels; which they finding ready an occasion to doe; for being come

within

within a mile of the place, he caused those Foot to alight, and drew all his men into Battalia, committing the charge of the Right Wing of Horse to Colonell *Webb*, and the Left to Lieutenant Colonell *Bouckle* (who both shewed themselves most gallant men) himselfe alighted from his Horse, armed onely with his sword, led up all the Foot, and being come (as he conceived) within hearing of the House, commanded his Trumpets to sound, and Drummes to beat, not dreaming the Rebels so well befriended with intelligence, as to be so neare and so ready for him; but the Rebels (as by their owne confessions he understood) having notice the day before of his comming, and of the place he intended to fall on, drew forth all their best men, in number farre more then the Colonell, fresh, and fully fed that night; and having possessed themselves of the advantage of some crosse Hedges, lined them throughly with their Musketeers, stood with the rest of their Horse and Foot in Squadron, and being ready to receive him, answered his Drummes and Trumpets with their owne; which he perceived were so neare that he was within Musket shot of the Rebels; yet could not discerne one the other, by reason of the extreame mist, which made much to the Colonels disadvantage, the winde also was fully against him. Notwithstanding all this, the charge began extreame furiously on both sides, but it lasted not long; for their Horse soone fled, insomuch that Two Troopes of the Lord *Treasurers* (commanded by Colonell *Webb*) made five Troopes of Colonell *Vertons* runne away without discharging one Pistoll upon the Rebels: and albeit their Foot stood handsomely for a space, and held up the skirmish high, yet being beaten from hedge to hedge (by the Colonels gallant Musketeers of the Queens Life-guard and Col. *Hawkins* Regiment) & seeing themselves deserted by their Horse, they were glad to save themselves by flight, which they did more easily by help of that thick mist, and a lane, whereof they had possessed themselves. The brave Garriton in the meane time sallyed forth, and beat the Rebels from a worke called the Deale worke, which gave the Colonell an open passage into the House, whereby he got in the whole Ammunition (Powder, Match, &c.) which he brought along

along with him from *Oxford*. This done, the Colonell marched with the greatest part of his men to *Basingstoke*, leaving behind in the House 100 of Colonell *Hawkins* his *Whitecoats*. While the Colonell was busie in the Towne of *Basingstoke*, the Lord *Marquisse* his men made a gallant sally (and have made many a score since this siedge began) which was done by helpe of those brave *Whitecoats* (led on by Captaine *Hull*) who advanced up to a Worke which the Rebels had made in the Towne and Church of *Basing*, and there fought it out so manfully, that they beat the Rebels quite off from their Workes, killed in this place 46 more, and tooke 33 Prisoners, whereof two Captaines: *viz.* Captaine *Jarvas* (sonne to Sir *Thomas*, who is so famous in *Hampshire*, that when any man speaks an untruth bigge enough to be voted, they presently call it *Jarvasing*) and another, Captaine *John Jephson*, both kinsmen to Colonell *Norton*. The Colonell thought he should have met with some of the Rebels in *Basingstoke*, but feare had driven them thence, so that he entred the place without difficulty, and found there the Rebels Magazine of Powder and Armes. From hence he presently began to send all sorts of Provision into *Basing* House, as Wheat, Malt, Pease, Salt, Wine, Beere, Candles, Bacon, &c. much whereof was ready, this being the Market day; and thus was the rest of Wednesday past. In the evening the Colonel sent his Warrants to the neighbouring Villages, commanding them to bring in so much provision as was specified in the respective Warrants, which was done accordingly; neither were the Souldiers wanting in their endeavours towards victualling of the House, there being brought in by severall parties of them, an hundred head of great Cattle, whereof divers were excellent fat Oxen; as many or more Sheep, and forty and odde Hogges. There were slaine upon the place in the first encounter, and in the sally, full fixescore Rebels, above an hundred taken Prisoners, whereof seventeene being dangerously wounded, were dressed in the House, and afterwards sent backe to the Rebels Quarters; there was taken also one goodly Demi-Canon, and another faire brasse Gun, and a Standard of *Morley's* (so Master *Morley* call'd it) besides 150 Armes,

and

and 14 whole barrels of Gunpowder. Of His Majesties Forces were slaine nine men, whereof two were Officers: viz. Captaine *Sturges* a gallant daring young man, who with Colonell *Gage*, both at taking of *Borstall* House, at *Abingdon*, and here also shewed exemplary courage. Coronet *Stenour* of *Wallingford* Troop, who gallantly kept his Colours though he lost his life; the other seaven were common Souldiers; foure taken prisoners, whereof one was Master *Stanhope*, Gentleman of the Horse to the Lord Marquisse of *Hertford*, who engaging himselfe to gaine a Standard of the Rebels, for want of seconds was hemm'd in, after he had runne a Captaine Lieutenant of theirs through the body.

FRIDAY. *Sept.* 13.

All yesterday the Colonell stayed with them at *Basing*, and employed that day as he had done the afternoone before in victualling the Castle; some little skirmishes he had with the Rebels, but not much, for he could never invite them out of a Fort which they had made in the Parke, or from the shelter thereof: This Worke they are suffered to keepe, all the rest the Colonell took from them, and burning their Hutts slighted their Workes. In the evening about eleven of clock he returned homewards, having certaine Intelligence that the Rebels were drawne out of *Abingdon* under the command of their *Browne Generall*, to the number of 500 Horse and Dragoones, which were drawne up to *Aldermerston*; besides 300 from *Newbury* which lay on the other side of him at *Thatcham*, and all the Horses which the Country could rake together joyned with the *Reading* Troops lay about *Padsworth*; Thus being way-layed on all sides, and having two Rivers to passe, the Colonell resolved on making good his retreat in some time, which he did with equall judgement and successe; for the Rebels having pull'd downe *Burfield* Bridge, the Colonell found a way to Foord it over, every Trooper carrying behind him a Souldier. Thus the Colonell happily passed the *Kennett*, and understanding that the Rebels had pulled up

both *Henly* and *Reading* Bridges to stop all passage, he resolved and did againe Foard the *Thames* at *Pangborne*, and so made his retreat good to *Wallingford*; whence

SATURDAY. *Sept.* 14.

This day with his whole Body of Horse and Foote he came safe to *Oxford*. But whether this action were performed with more courage, skill, or diligence, we cannot easily tell you; their expert gallant Commander being not onely to fight with a body of Rebels stronger then himselfe, farre from friends, without hope of reliefe against the least disaster, and all this upon the Rebels owne ground; but against false Brethren also, who by their treacherous intelligence had laboured to frustrate this designe, and after all, to finde his returne obstructed every way; Townes and High-wayes beset, Bridges suddenly broken downe, Great *Kimbolton* crossing the Country, and hasting to joyne against him, and Generall *Browne* being ready at hand with fire and faggot to revenge this losse and disgrace. But the six Colonels (*Norton*, *Onslow*, *Jarvis*, *Whitehead*, *Jones*, and *Morley*) were so piteously trudgelled at *Basing*, that these *High-way-men* had little appetite to a second course; concluding, that he who had beat their friends out of their owne Trenches, would more easily force them home to theirs; which wholesome consideration made these severall sorts of Rebels of one opinion, to grant the Colonell what they saw they could not deny him: and indeed, as many Officers and Souldiers as we have met with, doe confesse the Colonels ability, courage, and temper, had so much influence upon them all, that it would make even one of my Lord *Say's* Sons valiant (were they honest enough to embrace a good cause) and by consequence make the boldest Rebell shrinke even into the *Saw-pit*. The particular sallyes and other excellent services done by *Basing* Garrison, you shall have hereafter, wherein the noble Marquisse hath expressed most gallant courage, even then when he could not easily hope for reliefe. Severall Summons were sent into the Garrison;

Garrison; one from Colonell *Norton*, who on Monday was seavenight sent a written Message to my Lord Marquesse of *Winchester*, with a most uncivill [*Yours to serve*] in these following words.

My Lord,

THese are in the name and by the authority of the Parliament of England, *the highest Court of Justice in this Kingdome, to demand the House and Garrison of* Basing *to be delivered to me to be disposed of according to order of Parliament, and hereof I expect your answer by this drummer within one houre after the receipt hereof: in the meane time I rest.*

From the quarters before *Basing* the second of *September* in the forenoone.

Yours to serve you
Ric: Norton.

But the noble Marquis sufficiently understood the language of these three last yeares, and therefore instantly returned the Rebell this answer.

WHereas you demand this House and Garrison of Basing *by a pretended authority of Parliament, I make this answer, That without the* KING *there can be no Parliament; By His Majesties Commission I keepe the place, and without His absolute command shall not deliver it to any pretenders whatsoever. I am*

Basing *the second of September.*

Yours to serve
Winchester.

Besides this, Master *Morley* sent another summons, written with one of his Left hands, for which he was afterwards marked in the shoulder, which spoiled his Clerkship ever since, his words were these.

My Lord,

TO avoid the effusion of Christian blood, I have thought fit to send your Lordship this summons, to demand Basing *House to be delivered to me for the use of King and Parliament; if this be*

be refuſed the inſuing inconveniences will reſt upon your ſelfe: I deſire your ſpeedy anſwer and reſt

My Lord,

Your humble ſervant

Herbert Morley.

To this my Lord Marquis ſent a ſpeedy Anſwer, which not long after he ſealed with a bullet, which ſeemed to relate to theſe his Lordſhips words ſent to Maſter *Morley*.

Sir,

IT is a Crooked demand, and you ſhall receive anſwer ſuitable. I keepe the Houſe in the right of my Soveraigne, and will doe it in deſpight of your forces: your Letter I will preſerve as a teſtimony of your rebellion.

Wincheſter.

What Maſter *Morley* meant by *Effuſion of Chriſtian blood* is legible in the quibble of his Motto upon his Colours (taken in this action) *viz.* NON AB EQUO SED IN ÆQUO VICTORIA, which is true to a letter; for it was NON AB EQUO, *not their Horſe* (for they all ranne ſhamefully) SED IN ÆQUO, *but the Æquity of His Majeſties Cauſe* which obtained this *Victory*; there being as much difference betweene the *Rebels Cauſe* and *Æquity*, as betwixt Maſter *Morley's* two ſhoulders, one of which (to keep ſtill to his *Motto*) is but a Single letter, the other an Æ-dipthong.

The Rebels to ſave money tooke the lead from off *Baſing* Church, and (as ſince we heare) gave it out that the Cavaliers in *Baſing* Houſe attempted it before; but the Lord *Marqueſſe* hath ſhewed that he wanted no lead. Nay the Rebels already have given up an Account of *fifteene hundred Barrels of Powder ſpent upon* Baſing *Houſe*. And though we are confident their Eighteene weekes Sledge coſt them many hundreds of Barrels, yet ſome conceive the chiefe Receivers took two parts in Powder, and a third in mony; which is the uſuall method of their Reckonings. For the Rebels Souldiers are coſened by their Officers, the *Members* cheat them both, the Devill coſens all three, and the *Scots* tugge hard to deale with all foure.

FINIS.

Numb. 53.

Mercurius Britanicus.

Communicating the affaires of great BRITAINE:

For the better Information of the People.

From *Monday* the 7. of *October*, to *Monday* the 14. of *October*. 1644.

POore *Britanicus* ! I perceive thine enemies are very angry to see thee abroad again: Nay (I hear) that some, who would be thought thy friends, dare open their mouthes to *maligne* thee: be they friends, or no friends, I care not; yet I am confident they are not, or are not so far forth as they should be: there are some still (I see) which though (perhaps) they are resolved never to receive *the marke of the beast*, yet they are *smutch't in the mouthes*, they are taken many times, out of weakneſſe, with the *dawbing* of *Malignant Factors*, which *lie Leiger* here to make *Proſelytes*: Let ſuch *Trencher-Converts* (whether of the *Clergy*, or *Laity*) take heed how, and where they talke again; for this time I forgive them: they are troubled at ſincere and *plaine* language, but let them take heed left I ſpeak *plainer*: Is this a time to ſtraine curteſie with thoſe that would cut our throats? to talke coolely when three Kingdoms make but one *Funerall Pile*, and ſo many *devils incarnate* are handling the *Bellowes of deſtruction*? Were there any hope of *Accommodation*, or the leaſt proffer of but one *hopefull Treaty*, I would lay out all my Inke to woe the people on both ſides to a generall acclamation of *Peace*; but I deſpaire of this ſo great happineſſe: our adverſaries are both untractable, and implacable, they never make *Overtures* of Peace, but for ſome *by-ends*, and to this purpoſe they abuſe both King and people, by prefixing the name of *Royall Majeſty* to their perfidious Papers: Oh that I had a voice of *Thunder*, to awaken and undeceive the deluded people all over the Kingdom, which are halfe *aſleepe* ſtill, and *nodding* betwixt *Proteſtantiſme* and *Popery*, between *Liberty*, and *ſlavery*, between happines and miſery: Ah! this *hankering* and *halting*

Silly Carpers abroad at Britannicus.

No time now to dally either in words, or deeds.

The ſluggiſh condition of moſt men.

wing in the *Cauſe* will ſpoile all: If I chance to eſpie any *luke-warme*, either *Divine* or *Souldier*, let him looke to it; I may chance to tell the world that he is but a jugler, and a meere *Hocus Pocus* in Religion.

The Lady Waller.

Thus much for *Aulicus* his cloſe friends, now to himſelf. He ſayes, He *purpoſed hereafter not to mention the Lady* Waller. Indeed he cannot but have quite tired himſelf out in abuſing that noble Lady, if at leaſt a Lady of ſuch eminent vertues may be ſaid to be within the reach of his malicious *Quill*; for no week can paſſe hardly without an unmannerly flirt and fling at her: But what is the reaſon? *Even becauſe ſhe firſt was a main cauſe and encourager of her husbands taking up Arms, which is the very reaſon* (he ſayes) *why her Ladiſhip of late hath been found ſo oft in print.* Can more be ſaid in her commendation, then what *Aulicus* himſelf hath ſpoken? To give up her husband, and all the joyous *intereſſes* attending the married life, for the good of the Kingdome? This is a ſpirit beyond the ordinary pitch of women. And it was but time that ſome women ſhould be active on this ſide, when they began to be ſo violent on the other; that rath r then Popery ſhould be thruſt out of *England*, a *freake* takes one in the head, and ſhe will have a *vagarie* into *Holland*, and pawn her very pride to buy Arms, and (like a moſt *Philoſophicall Lady*) deale altogether in *tranſmutation of Mettals*, till by *Magneticke* Art ſhe had drawn half the *Iron* and *Steele* in the Country about her.: Another for meer ſpight engages her rotten honour and Carkaſe to the bed of an *Iriſh Rebell*, upon condition he ſhall aſſiſt with Arms and Shipping: A third ſhe ventures her neck to bring a *Traiterous Commiſſion* between her legs to betray the City of *London*: I could reckon up abundance more of theſe *She-Granado's*, which helpt to ſet all on fire, reſolving like *Salamanders*, to live as long as they can in this unnaturall flame, and never let it be quencht, unleſſe they may have liberty to make uſe of *holy-water*.

The reaſon why Aulicus abuſes her.

Violent women againſt the Parliament.

A villanous conceit.

He abuſes Sir *Nevill Poole* with a piece of *Allegoricall* villany forged in his own braines: *How that Sir* William Waller *was a Ship now under Saile, and hoiſting for a voyage of great concernment, but his Lady was the* Remora *that ſtaid him.* Sirrah, ſee how ill-favouredly your knotty invention hangs together. But now ſhe was his ſole encourager and forwarder, and doſt thou ſo ſoon forget thy ſelf to call her a *Remora* to ſtop and hinder him? I ſee I muſt make a more fit application of the *Allegory* for thee. His Majeſty has been the Ship ſo much troubled and haunted with *Remora's*, wafted up and down with every ſmooth gale of flattery; ſometimes in and among the craggy ſhelves of *Monopolies*, which if he began to ſuſpect, then *Cottington*, and *Goring*, and the reſt of the

The better application of it.

Crows

Crows and *Rookes* which fed upon the *Carkase* of the Commonwealth, were so many *Remora's* to hinder him from comming back again: Sometimes half sticking in the *quick-sands* of *Innovation*, and *Popery*; and being once there, her Majesty and *Canterbury* were two *Remora's* to hinder him from getting out again in haste: And never was there one prosperous breathing, or influence from heaven for the good of this Nation, but one *Remora* or other came still in the way: Never was Prince so infested with *Remora's* upon every good motion, and laid hold on by so many popish *Tenter-hooks*, that *He* cannot so much as look towards his *Parliament*: And you may remember before this *storme* began, what an infinite company of treacherous *Land-porpises* were playing about him, to allure him to that destructive *Northern* voyage, and having once gotten him thither, and raised the *storme*, by a devillish *Metamorphosis*, they all presently turned *Remora's*, and so have continued ever since. How his Majesty is, and hath been abused.

To these *Remora's* *Aulicus* is a pensioner to belie, slander, and delude as many as he can; this latter is his imployment *in chiefe*, whereby he makes a shift also to be a *Remora* in the way of many *Ignoramuses*, which otherwise would never hold up Arms against the *Parliament*: To say the truth, he doth his *Majesty* great service by his deluding, and stupefying the people from the sence of their miseries, and representing our Armies alwaies in a mean condition: And now he tels us that *Sir* William Waller *is pittifully battered, and finds small comfort Westward.* I am sure they can hope for small comfort Westward, when Sir *William* once moves that way; He seldome brings any Traitors along with his Army, and (as I have often told you) the Cavaliers never thrive but by Treachery. The main end of Aulicus. Sir William Waller.

He prints Col. *Massies* Summons given to *Berkeley* Castle, which in testimony of that gallant *Colonels* resolution, I here publish. Col. Massie.

To Coll. *Veel* Governor of *Berkley* Castle, and to his Officers therein.

You are hereby summoned immediately upon sight hereof, to render unto me for the use of the King and Parliament, the Castle of Berkley, *with all the Armes, and Ammunition within the same: And I do hereby engage mine honour to give unto you, your Officers, and Souldiers free quarter, with Liberty to passe to what other Garrison you please: And if any shall be willing to take employment under me, they shall have the same condition of service as they now have: But if any shall refuse this tender of so great mercy, and enforce me to draw up my Artillery, then you cannot expect quarter, nor any other, then what the extremity of fire and sword may bring upon you,*

Edward Massie.

To Colonell *Massie.*

Is it possible for Colonell Massie *to believe that his Artillery can frighten me from my loyalty and Allegiance to his Majesty, or that fire and sword can enforce me to yeeld up this Castle to him: No Sir, I value not your Summons, and I am resolved never to prove a Traitor to that trust which is reposed in me, but will keepe it to his Majesties use, maugre your forces; and this Sir, assure your selfe is the resolution of*

Thom. Veel.

Thom. Veel (it seems by this) is as wise as *Walthams Calfe*, that loved to keep in good pasture as long as he could, but the slaughter of this *Brute* is deferred till another time; In the mean time he fattens himselfe with the pillage of the Country, and is more grievous to the poor husbandmen about him, then ever was his great *Grandame* of *Dunsmore Heath*. But now we hear because he was not cruell enough *Rupert* hath turned him out and put an Irish Rebell in, to Governe the place, this is his reward to serve a Popish Faction.

Oxford must expect a Reformation.

He tels us of the Earle of *Manchester*, whom he calls the *Prince of the Association*, forsaking Lincolnshire, and those parts: What should he do there *Anticus*, when the North is so well purged from your *Popish confederacy*, and the disturbers of his gallant Association removed? Is it not time then to looke toward your *Masses* and *Altars* there, and cleanse *Oxford* of all its abominable *reliques*, as well as *Cambridge*: Sirrah, look about you, for the valiant *Cromwell* comes along with him; and what will hinder that *Reformation* should follow, where zeale, honour, and resolution do lead the way?

A report of seuerall sicknesses.

He talks of a *strange sickneſſe consuming his Army, as it did Sir* William Wallers *before*: It is a strange sickneſſe indeed, that men can march, and fight, and conquer too; but what is the name of it, I pray you? It is neither the *Plague*, where with (some say) the *Queen* was lately visited, nor is it the *Poxe*, the *Court disease*, the *Madams* disease, *Harry Jermins* disease; nor *madnesse*, *Endymion Porters* disease, nor any of those Malignant diseases, which infect both the Court and Cavalry; nor is it that *sweeping* disease which hath overtaken the *Cornish heathens* in their swift march, and arrested some thousands of them to appear there, where they are satisfied of the truth of that, which they would not believe here, that there is a *Hell* prepared for all god-lesse, prophane, and blood-thirsty wretches.

There is for certain a perilous disease raigning among them.

He tels us of our shot spent in vaine before *Banbury*, and sayes, *it were pitty but that Sir* William Compton *would consider Mr.* John Fines *hiscondition:* Sir *William* would do well to consider his Majesties condition;

dition; how much shot he spent in vain lately against *Plimouth*, how his Army hath bin so wasted by death and *Cowardise*, that he is like once more to go a begging back towards *Cornwall*, and to speak there, another Speech of *Digbies* making, to as little purpose as he did at *Kings-Moore*: and how that his holding out will be to no end, unlesse *relicfe* were neerer; and that now is the time, or never to make his conditions, seeing the *Cornish Choughs* have taken their flight home again. His Majesties condition. Cornish men run home.

He tels us of a *Letter* sent towards *London*, but by them intercepted, which reports *the Earle of* Dorset *to be taken prisoner, with seven of his Mistrisses, which* (he sayes) *is a forgerie*. His being *taken Prisoner*, I believe is; but for the other, I cannot well tell what to say; I know that *running Nags* tire soonest, unlesse the *Reines* be rul'd skilful; and seven *Mistresses* being so many *deepe ditches*, I suppose his Lordship (though heretofore a good *horseman*) will hardly sit the *Saddle* to leap all at once. Earl of Dorsets seven Mistresses.

He tels us that scurrilous language will suite better with our *Lord Protector of the Sea*; he means our thrice *Noble Admirall*, that gallant Lord, to whose fidelity in both *Elements* the three *Kingdoms* are so much beholden, that the *expressions* due to his worth can be no lesse then a single *Chronicle*. The Lord Admirall.

Yet *Aulicus* railes most unreasonably against him, and sayes, that *he still so pursues his old notorious liberty, that he caused* VENUS ORTA MARI *to be gilded upon a new built Ship*. Reader, the English of it is this, *Venus born of the Sea*: And this was the reason that the *Queen* and *Fernin* were so favoured by the Sea, that they made a shift lately to escape from this noble Lord in a *French Gallie*: Here I could finde in my heart to use *Ovids O Utinam tunc cum &c.* But I see it is in vain to wish, when *Venus* is so favoured by the *Sea*, that they can crosse to and again at pleasure, to bring so many *Crosses* into, and upon the Kingdome. Notoriously abused. The conceit applyed home

He hath a fling at Sir *Thomas Fairfaxes* shoulder, where he would have him to receive his *deaths wound*: No sirrah, it is likely to prove only a badge of honour; at the worst it is only a sharp instruction, to tell the bravest spirits, that their *earthly Tabernacles* are but mortall: Sir *Thomas* means not to die so far in debt to the generall Expectation. Sir Thomas Fairfax.

He sayes, he shall *forbeare to mention how the Earl of* Essex *got to* London. You may thank the *villany* of some that his *Majesty* did not beare him company; who hath gotten no more by it but this, even the lengthening of his own misery and the Kingdomes. It is not to be mentioned with any patience, how much our noble *Generall* hath been abused; who might else, in all probability, have compleated his own honour, and our happinesse by that *Western Expedition*. The Lord Generall miscarried by treachery.

Having but little comfort from his *Majesty*, he makes a shift to fill three or four pages with a story of *Basing* house, and he prints the Summons which Col. *Norton* sent to the *Marquisse*, in these words. Basing-house.

My Lord,

These are in the name, and by the Authoritie of the Parliament of England, *the highest Court of Justice in this Kingdome, to demand the house and garrison of* Basing *to be delivered to me, to be disposed of according to Order of Parliament, and for which I expect an answer by this Drum within one houre after the receipt hereof: In the mean time, I rest.*

From the Quarters before *Basing*. *Yours to serve you* Ric. Norton.

But the *Marquisse*, though a thing of it self inanimate, yet sufficiently informed by *Digbies* spirit, returned this Answer.

Whereas you demand this house and garrison of Basing, *by a pretended Authority of Parliament, I make this Answer; That without the* King *there can be no Parliament; By his Majesties*

jesties Commission I keep the place, and without his absolute Command shall not deliver it to any Pretenders whatsoever; I am

Basing-house. *Yours to serve,* Winchester.

The second Summons was sent in by Col. *Morley*, in these words.

My Lord,

To avoid the effusion of Christian blood, I have thought fit to send your Lordship this Summons to demand Basing-house to be delivered to me for the use of King and Parliament; if this be refused, the ensuing inconveniences will rest upon your self: I desire your speedie Answer, and rest

My Lord, Your humble servant, Herbert Morley.

To this Answer was made.

Sir,

It is a crooked demand, and you shall receive Answer suitable. I keep the house in the right of my Soveraign, and will do it in despight of your forces: Your Letter I will preserve as a testimonie of your Rebellion.

Winchester.

Winchester Goose.

I will never believe that this is the *Winchester Goose* which some talk of; he speakes too perilously to be a *Gosling* of the breed of the *old one*, that was a *Goose* indeed. We must needs have his *feathers* pluckt, and then *Aulicus* will hardly flutter so much again; He will be undone for want of two or three pages from *Basing* hereafter.

The Lord Say and the Lord Maitland.

He tels us of the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Maitland* sending directions to the *Committee* of *Hampshire*, before *Basing-house*, dated the 5. of *August*; which with a peculiar *Emphasis* he observes to be the day of *Gowries Conspiracie*: I could say somewhat concerning *Gowries Conspiracie*, which would stumble some men to keep a day *holy* for the *deliverance*: But we will have nothing to do with the former *Reigne* as yet, we have *Conspiracies* enough at the present to look upon, a *Conspiracie* against our *Religion*, a *Conspiracie* against our *Liberties* and lives; but in whose *Reigne* the ground-work was laid, I leave every man to judge. As for the *Lord Say*, and the Lord *Maitland*, I shall say no more but this, that they are eminent for *Counsell* and *Fidelity*, in both *Nations*.

An old scandall revived, against the Scots.

Now he tels us of the *Scots* invading *England* three times in four years, their entertainment in *London*, and their assistance in the *State Committee*: This old scandall of *Invasion* begins to grow *stale*; it were *ingratitude* here, not to acknowledge the benefit we have received by their *brotherly* assistance; their unwearied labour through many hardships, and difficulties of *Winter*, in coming to us, their constancy at *York*, and since before *Newcastle*, where now they lie with great resolution for the good of *London*; And doth not all this deserve an *entertainement*? Is it not reason that we joyn in Counsell, which run the same hazard, and have one and the same engagement? Oh, this is that *indissoluble Bond*, which the teeth of envy will never be able to *gnaw* asunder.

The State-Committee a great ey-sore.

He calls the *State Committee* a *new fashioned Conventicle*. There were never such villanies plotted and contrived against a *State*, and therefore it is no wonder that *new* fashions, and *new* wayes are found out to counter-plot and prevent them: but they were the *new fashions*, and *new wayes* at Court, which brought this necessity upon us. What, think ye, was and is the *omnipotent standing Cabinet Councell*, but a *new fashioned Conventicle*, which passed a long time instead of the ancient supream *Councell* of the Kingdome? What was the *Infans-Famto*, I pray you, which had much adoe to stand *high-lone*, but a meer Scottish *new fashioned Conventicle*, a whifling, jugling Assembly, to delude the world under the *vizard* of a *Parliament*? And let all men judge whether we ought not to take new courses, to countermine such strange and unheard of proceedings.

He

He railes against our *Divines*, and sayes, *That they vent so much blasphemie, lies, and baudrie, that the Members are dailie vexed with Petitions against them from all quarters.* We never had any *Petitions* preferred as yet against any, but the *scandalous* and *Malignant Priests* planted abroad by the Bishops; and by the circumstances of *Blasphemy, Lies,* and *Baudrie, They* should be the men he speaks of. I pray you look in the *First Century* of them, and then tell me what you think of them: I suppose there might be enough found to fill two or three *Centuries* more, but that to publish the lives of these *Pulpiteers*, were to teach the people more wickednesse then the worst of them are acquainted with.

Set the saddle upon the right horse.

The lewd lives of Malignant priests

Intelligence.

His *Majesties* Army is in a very unweildy, froward, *retrograde* condition, and his followers (like true *Caterpillars*) vanish towards *Winter*: so that he thinks altogether of retreating: but he remaines still in *Somersetshire* at a place called *Evill* (there he is alwayes) and of all places I believe he will stay longest there; but so much the rather now, in regard that it will be very *Evill* for him to come forwards, when both our horse, and *Infantry*, are in so good a posture to receive him, and fully resolved to warme themselves with action, and do the *Cornish* so much curtesie as to keep them from catching cold this *Winter*. And it cannot but be more *Evill* for him to remove further *West*, for there he will finde as little Provision, as my *Lord Generall* did: So take him which way you will, he is, and will be still at *Evill*, in a very ill condition.

His Majesty at *Evil*,

In an evill condition.

And to help all forward, *Ruperts* late evil entertainment with his *Uncle*, makes the young man begin to be *peevish*; for it hath bin said along time, that he intends to make himself *King* of *Ireland*, and therefore mark him all along, and you shall finde that he prefers none but *Irish Rebels*, but being a little too hasty and notorious in displacing of *English* Commanders, his *Uncle* has given him a chiding, which the event shews how much he regarded, for he presently packes away to *Bristoll*, and immediately displaces Sir *Francis Hawley* the *Governor*, like a most obedient *Nephew*; I assure ye the *Wilde youngster* knowes whom he has to handle well enough.

Rupert chid.

His contempt of his Uncle.

But Sir *Francis* does not suffer alone; for *Tom Veel*, the *Glocestershire fatling* I lately told you of, that *winced* and spurn'd so at Colonell *Masseys* summons, is very well rewarded for it; being put beside his Governourship of *Berkly Castle* by *Rupert*, and one *Poore* an *Irish creature* succeeded him. But is not this poore doings (my Masters) you that hold Townes and Castles for his Majesty? Have ye any *English heart* about ye, and can ye heare this with patience? Ye see what ye must come to after all your good service; even be *slaves* to the Ambition of a *German Boy*, and the avarice of *Irish Rebells*. Had it not been better for *Tom Veel*, having an estate about *Berkley* Castle, to have made a Composition for his estate upon the *Surrender*, then to hold out, as he did, and lose both the place and *estate* for his labour? Come, yeeld, and be wise, if not for Conscience, yet for your owne sakes; ye see else what ye must come to.

The slavish condition of the Kings Commanders

Such indignities as these begin now to be laid to heart every day more and more: Why else came Colonel *Urrey* back again to *London*? and

Coll. Urrey.

Sir

Sir Francis Dorrington.

Sir *Francis Dorrington*, he that in zeale to his *Majesties Cause* hanged no lesse then fourteen men at once, hath now laid down his Commission; a good leading example.

New made Lords.

But as long as there is any honour to be gotten, *Dick Greenvile*, and *Tom Glemham*, the two intolerable *Atheists*, *Jacob Ashley*, and *Arthur Aston*, two *Atheisticall Arch-Papists*, will hold out as long as his Majesty, and Popery can make *play above board*: These *things* (they say) are made Lords lately, new fashion'd Lords like *Harry Jermin*, onely he was *Lorded* upon a different occasion.

Colonell Massie.

Colonell *Massie*, he which never stirs abroad but to conquer, hath newly routed 1400. horse and foot, and taken many hundreds; the particulars are not yet come; he wins victories faster then we are able to write them.

Sir Thomas Middleton.

Thus *South Wales* cleers up, and with no lesse gallant successe does Sir *Tho. Middleton* go on in *North Wales*, for the strongest holds in those parts are all in his possession; his last exploit was the taking of *Red* Castle being the house of the Lord *Powis*, an Arch-Papist and Governor there: But short worke was made with a *Petard*, and the house valiantly enter'd; where were taken Prisoners, the Lord *Powis*, and his brother, and his two sons, 3. Captains, one Lieutenant, with 80. Officers, and Common Souldiers; some Plate they found, Provisions of all sorts, and goods store, which the *Malignants* and *Papists* of the Country had brought in to be secured there: thus in a short time, I hope to see whole *Wales Christned* with the *Gospel*, and these two renowned *Commanders* to be the *Godfathers*.

A nest of Papists unhoused.

Canterbury.

The *Old Lawne Silken Sattin* Petard of *Canterbury*, who almost had blowne our Church and State quite off from the *Hinges*, was heard on *Thursday* last by *Connsell*, as concerning *point of Law*. This is strange, and are we put to it now for a point of Law? I could fall to pointing now, and easily *point* out the way, if I had but halfe the Law of an old *Countrey Justice*; but I will hold downe my finger, till I heare further from the honourable *House of Commons*. I told you the *Junto* must to *adjourning* againe: A *Proclamation* is out, which tells us they must meet at the latter end of *November next*; but let them if they dare, I give faire warning. But what shall wee thinke of *Oxford*, when *Zeale* for Popery grows so hot there, that it sets fire on the *Protestants* houses? Alas, it was nothing but a little bigger *Bon-fire* then ordinary for His Majesties victory in the West, only they mistooke themselves in ringing the Bells backwards now, as they did in ringing forwards upon the businesse at *Yorke*.

Junto adjourned.

Oxford great Boon fire.

Doubt. What course is to be taken to procure a blessing upon our Armies?

Satisfaction. No better way then by humiliation and Prayer: And it were to be wisht a day were set apart for that purpose; for extremity will force the enemy to action very suddenly.

London Printed for *Robert White*, 1644.

20

An

ORDINANCE

OF THE

LORDS and COMMONS

Assembled in PARLIAMENT:

Being a weekly Assesment upon the Countie of

Northampton,

For the maintaining of the Forces, and preservation of the Garrison, to continue for six moneths following.

Die Sabbati 12. Octob. 1644.

ORdered by the Lords in Parliament assembled, that this Ordinance be forthwith printed and published.

Ioh. Browne Cler. Parliamentorum.

London printed for *Iohn Wright*, in the old Bayley.
Octob. 14 1644.



Die Sabbathi 12. Octob. 1644.

IT is Ordained by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, That *Wil.* Lord *Fitzwilliams*, Sir *John Dryden*, Sir *Christopher Telverton*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering* Baronets; *Zouch Tate*, *John Crew*, *Richard Knightley* Esquires, Members of the House of Commons; Sir *Rowland St John* Knight of the Bath, Sir *Edward Nicolls*. Sir *John Norwich* Baronets; Sir *Humphrey Orme*, Sir *Richard Samwell* Knights; *Richard Knightley* of *Fawsley*, *Robert Mildemay*, *Edward Harby*, *Edward Only*, *John Cartwright*, *Philip Holman*, *Richard Samwell*, *Edward Farmer*, *John Wirley*, *Edward Shuglorough*, *Edward Hanbury*, *William Lisle*, *Thomas Elmes*, *John Cleypoole*, *Francis Quarles*, *John Norton*, *John Ereton*, and *John Thorneton* Esquires, and the Major of the Town of *Northampton* for the time being, or any three or more of them, residing in the Towne of *Northampton*, for the furnishing of Armes and Ammunition, making Fortifications, and payment of the Garrisons, Officers, and Souldiers, and other publike necessary Charges for the defence and preservation of the said County from Plunder and Ruine, shall or may from time to time, during the space of sixe moneths, to commence from the ninth day of September 1644. raise in the said County such summes of Money as shall be by them, or any three or more of them thought necessary for the uses aforesaid, the same to be rated and assessed in like sort as was the foure hundred thousand pounds granted by Act this present Parliament, not exceeding the summe of six hundred pounds a week. And for the better levying of the

ſaid ſummes of Money, the ſaid Committee, or any three or more of them then reſiding in the Towne of *Northampton*, ſhall or may nominate and appoint Treaſurers, Collectors, and Aſſeſſors in the ſaid County, for Aſſeſſing, Receiving, and Collecting the ſaid ſums of Money, and ſhall and may grant Warrants under their hands to any Conſtable or other perſon or perſons, as well Souldiers, when need ſhall require, as others, to raiſe and levie the ſaid ſums ſo to be Aſſeſſed and Taxed as aforeſaid, upon all ſuch perſons upon whom any ſuch ſummes ſhall be ſo aſſeſſed and ſet, that doe refuſe or neglect to pay the ſame by way of diſtreſſe and ſale of the Goods of the perſons ſo aſſeſſed and refuſing, and two pence for every ſhilling that ſhall not be paid upon demand, to beare the charge of thoſe that diſtraine: And in caſe any oppoſition be made, or no Diſtreſſe can be found, the ſaid Committee, or any three or more of them reſiding in *Northampton* as aforeſaid, ſhall or may commit ſuch perſon or perſons refuſing to pay, or not having a ſufficient Diſtreſſe to be found as aforeſaid, to ſome common Goale within the ſaid County, there to remaine untill payment made of ſuch ſumme and ſummes of Money as aforeſaid, for which ſummes ſo to be raiſed, the ſaid Committee ſhall be accomptable to both Houſes of Parliament, or ſuch as they have appointed, and to none elſe. And if any ſhall refuſe or neglect the execution of ſuch Warrants as ſhall be directed to them by vertue of this Ordinance, it ſhall be lawfull for the ſaid Committee reſiding as aforeſaid, or any three of them, to puniſh ſuch perſon refuſing or neglecting by Fine, not exceeding five pounds to be levied as aforeſaid. Provided, that where it ſhall appeare to the ſaid Committee, or any two of them reſiding as aforeſaid, That any perſon hath beene over-rated to the Tax upon the Bill of 400000 li. an abatement may be made in the Tax of ſuch perſon by the ſaid Committee, or any two of them reſiding as aforeſaid, according to their diſcretions. Provided alſo, that this preſent Ordinance ſhall be no hinderance to Taxes made by any former Ordinance.

Joh. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

FINIS.

21

THE CONFESSION OF *THOMAS PITTS:*

VVho was Executed in *Smithfield*, on Saterday last, being the 12. of *October*; for endeavouring to betray

RUSSELL-HALL

To the Enemy.

VVhich Confeſsion he deſired to be Written from his own Mouth, at the place of Execution:

That it might be a warning to prevent others for offending in the like manner.

Publiſhed according to Order.

London, Printed for *John Raworth*, *Octob.* 14. 1644.

THE CONFESSION OF THOMAS [illegible]:

Who was Executed in Smithfield, on Saturday last, being the 12th. of [illegible] for endeavouring to betray

KOSSUTH'S

To the Enemy.

Which Confession he delivered to be Written from his own Mouth, at the place of Execution.

That it might be a warning to prevent others [illegible] following his manner.

Published according to Order.

London, Printed for [illegible]

The Confession of *Thomas Pits*,

Farmer, in the County of *Stafford*,

A little before his Execution in *Smithfield*, the 12. of *October*, 1644.

I desire that one would write down my Confession, whereby others may take example.

GOOD PEOPLE, I desire the Lord to blesse you all, and I desire all your prayers to Heaven for me. I desire to speak to you all in generall. I am here justly brought to this place, for mine offence, by seeking to betray a Garrison under the Parliaments command. In that Act I was made an Instrument, betwixt two Commanders, of which Treachery, I was not ignorant: And for that fact, I confesse, That I deserve this death, and desire all Spectators to take notice of it. I for my own part, have been bred up under a powerfull Ministery, and have had good education, and have been a great Professor, but the Lord knows my heart, I have been a dissembling Hypocrit, And now I here do heartily confesse the offence; and the Lord blesse you all, and

give every one grace to take notice thereof, and to be warned thereby: And the Lord blesse this great City, and the Lord blesse the Countrey likewise; and the Lord make every man faithfull. I have been a great Professor, but I have not done my Masters will. I have been a great sinner, and I now call to minde a Text in the first of the *Romans*, from the 27. verse to the end, of 17 or 18 sins which I am guilty of all: therefore I suffer justly. I desire all men to take notice of my saying; and I desire, that if any Magistrates, or Parliament men be here, or if not, those that have most relation to them, would take notice of it, 1. That great offenders may be brought to condign punishment, as well as lesser: For my part, I desire to justifie that good Councell of War, and the Lord blesse them, for they have dealt justly with me; and there be still many *Achans* in the Camp. The Lord blesse the Parliament, and keep them from Treachery; and the Lord blesse the King, and I desire every honest man to honour Him as He doth honour God: I desire the Lord to bring Him home to His Parliament, and to remove far from Him, evill Councellours; and the Lord blesse His Friends, and Well-willers: I am perswaded, that the Kings heart is honest, but onely misled, and I hope he will return to His Parliament: That though I am now a dying man, yet you that hear me this day, may enjoy a happy Peace. And now you that hear me, and are to celebrate a Sabboth to morrow, I beseech you all to prepare your selves for it, and labour to rise early to fit you for the Lords Work: If any of you be to go to a Countrey Market, though in the depth of Winter, yet you will be up before day to go to it, therefore I beseech you to make use of the time, for the Market of your

souls:

souls: Labour to hearken to this Word of God, and labour to carry it home with you, and to practise it. I have lived in a Countrey where few powerfull Ministers are, and you that have slighted the Word of God formerly, take heed of it: I have been a great offender in this particular, and I have played the Hypocrite exceedingly, I have been very zealous outwardly, and I have kept many Fast dayes very strictly, both publike and private, I have enjoyed the company of the best Ministers, and I have associated my self with most religious people, and yet have played the Hypocrite exceedingly: The Lord forgive me, and good people pray for me, and now lift up all your hearts to God for me: I have known much, and done little, I pray God give you all grace to labour to know much, and to practise it.

Now concerning my being in Garrison in *Russell-Hall* in *Staffordshire*, being urged by Master *Smart*, Minister of Gods Word, to deliver my opinion concerning them. For their profession, they do all professe God, but I never heard nor saw, so much swearing, and drunkennesse, and other prophanations, as was in that place: For the Martiall of that place, he would swear and domineer, and was so discontented, as if he would cause the stones to flie out of the Walls. Now the Lord amend that and other places, under the Parliaments Command; and good people pray for me, and help me in remembring me to utter what I have to speak: The Gentleman that imployed me about this Treachery, was the Governour of *Dudley* Castle, his name is *Lyson*, he is my Landlord, and I hold a Farm of him for my life which this day I must surrender: he sent to me to come to him, and askt me what I did so often at *Russell-Hall*, I told him I had

severall

severall occasions, sometimes to receive money, and sometimes to pay money; he told me, he desired me to do one message for him to the Governour, that was to buy that Garrison of him, and he would give him eleven hundred pounds for it; I told him of it, and he sent me with Letters back, and so I carried messages from one to the other: but Captain *Tuckhill* did not deliver it up; yet offered me, if I could make the match, he would give me one hundred pounds of it, yet I never askt him for any money, neither had any, but one fourty shillings which he gave me without demand: And I thank God, that the delivery up of that Castle, is hid from my eyes, *Luson* did give me no money, but he promised to be as good to me, as seven yeers Rent. I desire you that write it, to take notice thereof, that it may be published, that all the world may take warning of such false heartednesse. I confesse my offence as great, and far greater then others, because that I have been a great Professour, and have stood for this Cause now in hand, and have alwayes held it to be just and right, and all my Friends, and Children, have stood for this Cause, and we do verily beleeve it to be the Cause of God: but it is for my sins, and the sins of other Hypocrites, that Gods Cause hath been so much dishonoured and beaten down. I desire you all, that Religion may not be stained by my suffering, nor good men slighted, nor Gods Cause fair the worse for my Hypocrisie. I never read, but there was some wicked amongst the most godly: There is some Chaff amongst the finish Wheat, and one *Judas* amongst the twelve Apostles: there was one in Gods Camp, and therefore, I beseech you all judge not ill of the Cause of Christ for my offence. One thing I desire to speak again

to

so you that are Magistrates, and intimate with them, I desire you to speak these last words of mine to them, I mean to the Lord Mayor, and this Honourable Councell of War, and tell them, that I beseech them, That great offenders may be brought to tryall, as well as lesser. Now for you that are imployed in Gods Cause, and are called forth to fight his battle, go courageously, and know, that you are never without God for your Captain, as you may read, 2 *Chron.* 14. 8, 9, 10, 11. and *Judges* 5. 23. For the Earl of *Denbigh* I hear, is going out for *Staffordshire*; the Lord blesse and prosper him. I hear and hope he is an honest man, I pray God increase it, and blesse him: I could wish he were now with his Forces there; for that Countrey is in great want of them: And I could wish that he would take with him, some good and faithfull Ministers, to plant in that barren Countrey.

And you Master *Smart*, I beseech you be an Instrument of helping faithfull Ministers amongst your Countreymen.

And now good people, I beseech you all pray for me, and hear me once more; I wish I could be heard of all, that are to enjoy a Sabbath the next day; Labour to prepare your selves for Gods Service, and to hearken diligently to Gods Word; Labour to renue your Covenant, that of late you have made with God: Let these last words of a dying man prevail with you, To draw close to God and his Cause. I confesse, I heard of the Covenant, but I never took it: you that have taken it, be carefull to renew it and keep it. And so the Lord blesse you all, King, Parliament, Citie, Countrey, and all.

Now

Now being desired by the Ministers that stood by, that if he found any spirituall comfort before his last breath, that he would give some token of it; and immediately after his turning off the Ladder, he lifted up his hands towards Heaven, and gave three strokes upon his Breast, which we take for a Testimony, that his soul is now at rest in Heaven.

FINIS.

AN 22

ORDINANCE

OF THE

LORDS and COMMONS

Assembled in England, Parliament

PARLIAMENT, K.

For the speedy raising and leavying of monyes, for the advance and mainteinance of the forces now sent forth for this present expedition from the Cities of *London*, *Westminster*, and liberties thereof, Borough of *Southwarke*, Hamblets of the *Tower*, and the parishes mentioned in the weekly Bills of mortality.

Die Sabbathi, 12 October, 1644.

ORdered by the Lords Assembled in Parliament, that this Ordinance be forthwith Printed and published.

Joh. Browne Cler. Parliamentorum

LONDON,
Printed for *John Wright* in the Old-Bailey.
October 14. 1644.

ORDINANCE

of the

LORDS and COMMONS

Assembled in

PARLIAMENT,

For the speedy raising and levying of

AN

ORDINANCE

Of the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, for the raising and levying of monies for the advance and maintenance of the Forces now to be sent forth for the present Expedition, from the Citie of *London* and Liberties thereof, and from the Parishes mentioned in the weekly Bills of Mortality.

Die Sabbati. 12. Octob. 1644.

THe Lords and Commons taking into their consideration the necessity of sending forth some Forces from the City of London and Libertie thereof, and other places mentioned in the weekly Bills of Mortality: And that for the better effecting thereof, the speedy raising of a competent summe of Mony within the Citie and places aforesaid,

is requisite, Have therefore ordained, and be it ordained by the said Lords and Commons for the intents and purposes aforesaid, and to such further purposes as are hereafter expressed, that there be forthwith raised the summe of two and twenty thousand pounds, whereof the summe of seventeen thousand, two hundred and fifty pounds within the said Citie and Liberties thereof, and upon such persons and goods wheresoever they are to be found, as are herein after expressed, and foure thousand, seven hundred and fifty pounds within the Hamblets of the Tower, Citie of Westminster, Burough of Southwark, and other places mentioned in the weekly Bills of Mortality, and upon such persons and goods wheresoever they are to be found, as are herein also after expressed. And for the more speedy and orderly raising thereof, It is ordained by the said Lords and Commons, that the Committee appointed by severall Acts of Common Councell for the gathering in of the Arrears, and the foure Aldermen appointed by Act of Common Councell, dated the 27. of September last, or any nine of them, whereof three to be Aldermen, shall be a Committee to assesse the said summe of 17250. l. upon any such person or persons, being of ability, as either now inhabit within the said Citie of London and Liberties, or that at any time since the beginning of this Parliament (being free men of London) did inhabit, or had since the time aforesaid, whether free, or not free of the Citie of London, or now have any trade, or stock going within the same:

And

And that the Sub-Committees of the Militia heretofore appointed within the Hamblets of the Tower, Citie of Westminster, Borough of Southwark, and places mentioned in the weekly Bills of Mortalitie, or any 7. of them respectively shalbe a Committee to assesse the said summe of 4750. l. within their severall limits and precincts, upon any such person, or persons, being of ability, as either now inhabit within the severall places aforesaid, or that at any time since the beginning of this Parliament, did inhabit, or had any Trade, or stock going within the limits and places aforesaid. And it is ordained by the said Lords and Commons, that all and every such person and persons (being assessed by vertue hereof) and neglecting or refusing to pay the said severall sums so assessed within ten daves after notice given, or left in writing at his usuall habitation, or place of abode, or at the dwelling house, or place of abode of any Partner, or Factor of any persons assessed, unto the severall Committees, or the Treasurer, or Treasurers by them appointed to receive the same, shall by vertue of a Warrant from the Committee of Lords and Commons for advance of Monies, and other necessaries for the Army, usually sitting at Haberdashers Hall (who are hereby authorized to make and give such warrants unto such person or persons, as shall be by the Committees, nominated for that purpose) be compelled to pay the said summes so assessed, by distresse of the goods and chattels of such person and persons so neglecting, or refusing to pay the

same, which said goods so distrained shall be sold by the said severall and respective Committees, appointed by this Ordinance for the service aforesaid; And if any person or persons shall neglect, or refuse to make payment of the sum or sums so assessed, and demanded as aforesaid, untill a distresse shall be taken for the same, That then every person and persons so neglecting, or refusing as aforesaid, shall pay such reasonable charge for every such distresse, removall, and sale of his, or their goods, as the said severall Committees shall respectively allow, or appoint, to be imployed for the better execution of this Ordinance, and if no sufficient distresse can be found, That then every such person and persons, shall by vertue of such Warrant from the said Committee of Lords and Commons to be made as aforesaid, be committed to safe custody, there to remain untill such person or persons shall satisfie the said severall summes assessed upon them by vertue of this Ordinance. And the said severall Committees appointed by vertue of this Ordinance for the service aforesaid, are hereby further authorized, and enabled, to call to their assistance (for the better execution and performance of this Ordinance) any person or persons, as they shall think fit.

And it is further Ordained by the said Lords and Commons, That the severall sums of money Assessed as afor said, shall be brought unto the said severall Committees, or to such Treasurer or Treasurers, as shall be by them appointed to receive the same; Which money so paid, to the

said

said several Committees, Treasurer, or Treasurers as aforesaid, shall be delivered to such Treasurer or Treasurers, as the Court of Common-Council shall appoint, and by him, or them issued and paid out by vertue of Warrants from the Committee of the Militia of the City of London, for the satisfaction and maintenance of the said Forces to be sent forth in the present expedition as aforesaid, according to their musters and the late establishment of the Lord Generalls Army, and the surplusage (if all be paid and disposed, as both Houses of Parliament shall direct, and not otherwise, excepting only what shall be issued out for such necessarie charges for the collecting and gathering in of the said moneys, as the said several Committees shall thinke fit, not exceeding six pence in the pound: And the said Lords and Commons doe Ordain, for the encouragement and security of such persons, as shall advance any sum of money by vertue thereof, that they shall be repaid with interest out of the receipt of the Excise, and that no Ordinance, nor Assignment, which is not already passed upon the receipt of the Excise, shall precede this Ordinance, and doe therefore hereby authorize the said Commissioners of the Excise, and their Impost (for the time being) to pay at the end of six moneths the interest of so much moneys as shall be advanced by vertue hereof after the rate of eight li. per cent. per annum, and the principall money, & the rest of the interest after the rate aforesaid, shall be paid in due course, into the hands of such Treasurer

or

or Treasurers as shalbe appointed by Common-Councell, whose receipt shall be their sufficient discharge, and by the said Treasurer or Treasurers issued out to such persons as did advance the same. And it is Ordained, That all Maiors, Sheriffs, Captains, Lieutenants, Bailiffs, Constables, and all other Officers and Souldiers, shall be ayding and assisting to the said Committees, & all such Officers as shall be imployed by them for the better execution and performance of the said service.

And the said Lords and Commons doe further Ordain, That the said Committee for the Militia, shall from time to time give accompt to both, or either Houses of Parliament, or to whom they shall direct, how they have caused the said moneyes to be issued out.

And it is lastly Ordained, That whatsoever any person or persons shall do in pursuance of this Ordinance, be and they shall be saved harmelesse for the same by authority of both Houses of Parliament.

Provided, that no person or persons shall be Assessed by vertue of this Ordinance, that shall take his corporall oath before the said Committee of Lords and Commons at Haberdashers-Hall, or such as they shall appoynt who are hereby authorized to take and administer the same; that he is not worth in personall and reall Estate & good debts, the sum of 1000 marks. Provided alwayes, that no Member nor assistant of either House of Parliament, shall be lyable to this Assessement.

FINIS.

Die

Kingdomes Intelligencer, Numb. 76. 23

Saltash is taken by the Plimouth *Forces. The King is advanced more Eastward. The Lord Generall in the Field. The proceeding of the Parliaments Forces in North, and South Wales; and the particulars of Colonel* Massies *defeat given to the enemy at the relieving of* Milborn *Garrison.*

THE KINGDOMES Weekly Intelligencer:

SENT ABROAD To prevent mis-information.

BRITISH MUSEUM

From *Tuesday* the 8. of *October*, to *Tuesday* the 15. of *October*, 1644.

SInce my last, his little *Grace* of *Canterbury* hath been again at the Lords Bar, and his Counsell permitted to speak for him what they could, as to the point in law; which his Counsell (Master *Herne*) did, with as much advantage, as the matter would bear, insisting wholy, upon the Statute 25. *Ed.* 3. *Cap.* 2. Reducing the Charge to three points: 1. A Traiterous endeavour to subvert the fundamentall Laws of the Realme, and instead thereof to introduce an *Arbitrary Government*: 2. A Traiterous endeavour to alter the true *Religion* established in this Kingdom, and to introduce Popery: 3. An endeavour to subvert the rights of Parliament: and then he proceeded in his Argument to

maintain that none of these particulars are treason, within the Statute of the 25. of *Edward* the third.

The house of Commons (who impeached the Bishop of the crimes laid to his charge) have ordered, that those of their Members, that mannage the evidence against the Bishop at his Triall, do make a summary relation of the proofe of the evidence against him to the house, to the end they may deliver their judgement before they go up to the Lords to demand a finall judgement against him, or (may be) to convict him by Ordinance of Parliament, by declaring the law upon that Statute (which both houses of Parliament may do, and was done in the Earle of *Straffords* Case) and so to convict him that way.

You see how much ado there is, to bring one notorious Delinquent to triall, and therefore the Kingdom cannot say (seeing so much time is spent on one man) but that the Parliaments endeavour has been much; to do speedy justice.

Saturday the 12. of *October*, there suffered two men (that were condemned by the Councell of War) the paines of death) the one for endeavouring to perswade Captaine *Tuthill* Governor of *Rushehall* Castle to betray that place to the enemy; the other for running away from his Colours.

There was a third condemned, but not executed, for endeavouring to betray the Island of *Garnesey*, by tempting the Governour thereunto, his Reprieve being obtained, by the mediation of Major Gen. *Skippon*, who was unwilling to obstruct justice, yet in this case, the Captain being formerly a man of valour, he hoped he would be an object of their mercy.

There are divers others suddenly to come to their Tryall before the Councell of War, persons of greater Noat, some that were formerly Members of the house of Commons, whose Charge is not to tempt others to treachery, but for attempting themselves, to betray places of strength into the enemies hands.

The

The two *Iriſh Rebels* that eſcaped out of the *Tower* and retaken, come to their Tryall by a jury.

Being upon the point of juſtice, let me tell you of a piece of juſtice (executed from heaven) on that ſeat of wickedneſſe the City of *Oxford*; where on the Lords day laſt in the afternoon a fire begun in an *Ale-houſe*, where the people were merry with *Fidlers*, and conſumed (before it ended) 3. or 400. houſes; no doubt a heavy judgement hangs over that City; tis pitty the Schollars ſuffered the leaſt, the poor Townſmen paid dear for it; yet it is well the Libraries are preſerved: in time they may be diſpoſed to Schollars of more piety and worth.

Wales, that had wont to annoy us with their freſh ſupplies and recrutes, finde their condition now to be ſo deſperate, that unleſſe the King help them with ſupplies, they can no more help the King, nor ſecure themſelves: Sir *Thomas Middleton* hath moſt valiantly ſtormed the Caſtle of the Lord *Powis* in Wales, taken his Lordſhip priſoner: and that which is more, as many Oaths taken with his Lordſhip, as Wales or Ireland can containe or invent. The manner of the taking it is worthy of remembrance: Sir *Tho: Middleton* marched by Moon-light towards the place with three hundred foot, and forty horſe, and forbore his approaches to the houſe till the Moon was down, then his Maſter Gunner fixed a Petard on the Gate, blew it open, our ſouldiers ruſhed in, and after ſome few houres diſpute, though the enemy ſhowred down ſtones from the top of the Caſtle, yet our men got over the Walls, and became Maſter of the place, and took priſoner the ſaid Lord, the greateſt blaſphemer in the world (this is for the honour of the Cavaliers) and his brother, and a Seminary Prieſt, whom they at *Oxford* will tell you, is imployed to ſettle the Proteſtant Religion: Alſo they took forty horſe, two hundred Armes, and about fifty priſoners, an hundred of them eſcaping out of the Caſtle in

the dark; This place hindered the passage between *Oswestree* and *Montgomery*, and is of great concernment towards the reducing of North Wales.

Sir *John Price*, a Parliament man (whose heart was alwaies with the Parliament, but was so over mastered by the enemy, that he durst not appeare) writes, that the Countrey do come in cheerfully, they only want Armes to defend themselves; and he hopes to help his neighbour Counties in *Pembrokeshire*.

The like successe we have in South Wales, for since Col. *Massie* took *Monmouth* Town, the Country is much awed, that they do not now so readily assist the Popish Lord *Harbert* as they were wont, neither dare they hold correspondency with *Bristoll*. And a little strength, *viz.* one thousand foot, and five hundred horse, Col. *Massie* desires no more, to Conquer all South Wales with, and by consequence to gain *Bristoll* to the Parliament, and to relieve our friends in *Pembrokeshire*, that are oppressed by *Gerard*, and divers of his Majesties Irish Subjects (wont to be called Rebels) the Lo: *Harbert* upon the taking of *Monmouth*, summoned in the Country, and got neer 1500. men together, and fell upon a house where Col. *Massie* had placed 80. Musquetiers to secure a retreate, who defended themselves foure and twenty houres by continuall fight, and in the time of the hottest action, and their powder within almost spent, Col. *Massie* came with 600. horse and foot, relieved those in the house that were distressed, and routed the enemy, though almost treble his number, slew fifty on the place, whereof one was a Major, and took 60. of them prisoners.

This weeke the Parliament has spent much time in ordering matters, concerning the present sending out of forces, and how to provide things to accomodate those already out: The Ordinance which the City sent to passe, for the raising of 20000. li. for the pay of the City Brigade is past, which

twenty

twenty thousand pound, together with Mr. *Walters* 10000. l. is to maintaine that Brigade with a Traine of Artillery, and two Troops of horse for three months, by the end of which time a man may guesse much of the issue of the War, if the King give battell, or if he take up his Quarters in the West, the issue of the one, if ill on the Kings side, and the remotenesse of the Quarters if the other, will tell you, that if Propositions of Peace (which were formerly rejected by the insulting enemy then at *Oxford*) will be now acceptable to them.

The County of Kent, so sensible are they of the preservation of their County, that though they have sent out a good strength to help our forces in the West, nay, one Regiment (Col. *Weldens*) is gone as far as *Plimouth*, and is now there in Garrison: Yet this County hath newly raised 2000. horse and dragoons, that are to be in a readinesse in an houres warning, to assist the Parliaments forces elsewhere, if need bee. If the County of Essex do follow this example (for I know Sir *Thomas Barringtons* death in the service of the State, is no impediment thereunto, the Gentry and Commons of that County are so zealously affected to the Parliament) then there will be a brave reserve upon any occasion, to the terrour of the enemy, and will so fortify our Propositions, that the enemy (if they be wise) will not refuse them.

Sir *James Harrington*, that faithfull and Religious Gentleman commands in chief the City Brigade, he had orders sent him on *Saturday* to march on the Lords day from their severall Quarters, and to loose no time, for the enemy would endeavour to do his worke (what he intends before he takes up his Winter Quarters) before my Lord Generall, Sir *Will. Waller*, the Earle of *Manchester*, and City Brigade should joyne.

The expectation of news out of the West hath bin great; little or no matter of action hath been this weeke by the

forces on either side in those parts, some thing of motion we hear of: that Sir *Will. Waller* having for this many weeks made good the passage at *Shaftsbury*, as Colonell *Dalbiere* did at *Blanford* upon the advance of the whole body of the Kings Army, retreated towards *Salisbury*, and the King advanced to *Blanford*, and *Shaftsbury*: But whether he intends for *Bristoll* or *Oxford* will suddenly appear (for the weather will not long permit his march for *Oxford*) Sir *William Waller* still lies upon the catch, and the Earle of *Manchester* attends with his Army of 10000. horse and foot, some at *Newbury*, others at *Marleborough*, as a reserve to assist Sir *William Waller* in giving the King Battell, if he attempt to reach *Oxford*.

The City Brigade under Sir *James Harrington* we understand are advanced as far as *Maidenhead*, and that my Lord Generalls Artillery is come safe to *Redding*, which the Earle of *Manchester* conducts to my Lord Generall; and on *Monday* the 14. of *October* instant, the Earle of *Manchester* writ to the Parliament, that he was upon his advance, and that they had no servant, should be more observant of their commands then himself, that he had sent to know, where my L. Generall appointed the generall Rendesvouz of his foot, and thither he would guard his Artillery, and march with his forces according to the direction of the Committee of both Kingdoms.

From my Lord Generall we understand, that his forces do this day take the field, and that on Tuesday he marches in person after them: About the twentieth of this moneth at furthest, the Lord Generall, Sir *Will. Waller*, the Earl of *Manchester*, and Sir *Iames Harrington* will be joyned; who (if the King keep the field) will be revenged of that crew he patronizes, for the inhumanity used to his forces in Cornwall: Every man that was there pillaged will be worth three men, when they meet with the enemy. And if his Majesty

take

take up his winter Quarters, then they know how to make good their Posts, and keepe the Kings Army at a further distance Westward.

Its likely the King intends for *Oxford*, for he hath put forth his Proclamation to Adjourne the pretended Parliament of *Oxford*, from the eight of *October*, when the meeting should have been; to the 9. of *November* next: At which time his Majesty saith in his Proclamation, he intends to be there (but I hope he will aske the Earle of *Essex* leave first, if he intend to go with his Army thither: and if the fire were so great as is said, it will a little trouble him for Quarters there.

Monday the 14. instant, the Parliament hath received Letters from the L. *Roberts* dated at *Plimouth*, the 4. of *October*, that he having sent out a commanded party of good resolute men, had taken in *Salt Ash*, a Garrison of the enemies, which they quitted with little dispute, and now that we have it, they write, unlesse they had again amongst them the old *Plimouth* Souldiers whom his Majesty in person beheld how they were stript) they should hardly make good that Garrison, and the Town and Iland of *Plimouth*: besides the Town do acknowledge the great service done unto them by Captain *Batten*, in defence of that place, and they do with all thankfulnesse acknowledge the care of the Parliament in sending them such seasonable supplies of men, victuals and Ammunition, expressing with what joy it was received, that God did raise them friends to put them into a condition to be revenged of the cursed Cornish (as the Letter calls them) and indeed they are as very heathens, as the ignorant Welch that know no Religion, nor God; but the King is more then God or Religion unto that County, and Wales, though they be drawn to involve the Kingdom in blood.

The *Plimouth* Garrison desire the rest of their men (who are Quartered about *Portsmouth*, may be sent down unto them, for they say, they know their valour and fidelity.

The Garrisons at *Weymouth*, *Poole*, *Lime*, *Warham* still hold out, though their wants bee great, yet they write, their lives shall be sacrifized before they will yeild to the bloody enemie, and the Parliament hath taken care to provide moneys for them.

That

That valiant Commander Colonell *Ceely*, (that made good the Towne of *Lyme*, against *Maurice*, *Paulet*, *Dorrington*, *Strangwayes*, and the reſt of that brood) writes he will looſe his life before he will yeild, though their wants might plead much, and that Governor, (not to deminiſh from any man in the Kingdom) deſerves as much as man could doe, in the defence of that place, and pittie it is, the Kingdome is not in a condition to put markes of favour on men of deſert, according to their merit: In due time he will be remembred.

When ever the Parliament begins to reward any man, for his ſervices, or loſſes, ſo as to be of effect unto them, the Governour of *Lyme*, and *Gloceſter* deſerve to be then much in memory, and it were to be wiſhed, that thoſe men that go and whiſper abroad, into mens eares, that the Parliament as ſoone as they have their work done will caſt of all deſerving men without reward, might be taken notice of, for certainly the greateſt deſigne the enemie hath now on foot, is to perſwade the ſoldierie of the Kingdome, that they are either neglected by the Parliament, or in concluſion ſhall be rejected: when as the Parliament is ſo overwhelmed with buſineſſe, though they ſit every day without intermiſſion, that they cannot diſpacht every Comander or ſouldier, be they never ſo deſerving, when they come up for money, armes, &c. nor can reward them according to their merit; had they a bank of money; then they were to blame, to prejudice the ſouldiers by not accomodating them; If there be any in Parliament, that have private ends, by hindring the accomodating of others when it is for the publique good; God diſcover them that they may be marked with infamie to poſteritie: in the interim, let others be ſilent, unleſſe they can tell the contrary.

The greateſt worke the Parliament has done this week; hath been in going on with the Propoſitions, and ſuch is their affection to Peace, that they have ordered to ſit *de die in diem*, till they be finiſhed, and this preſent *Munday* have made a good progreſſe in them: inſomuch as a few dayes will put an end unto them, if other the great occaſions of the Kingdome hinder not: Next thoſe Lords and others that are excepted for life and eſtate; the Commiſſions of Array, and Sheriffes that put the Array in execution come in the next place of the notorious Delinquents, though in a degree of leſſer puniſhment.

London Printed for R. W. *Octob.* 15. 1644.

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH,

Of those CHURCHES which are commonly (though falsly) called ANABAPTISTS;

Presented to the view of all that feare GOD, to examine by the touchstone of the Word of Truth: As likewise for the taking off those aspersions which are frequently both in Pulpit and Print, (although unjustly) cast upon them.

ACTS 4. 20.

wee cannot but speake the things which wee have seene and heard.

ISA 1. 8. 20.

To the Law and to the testimony, if they speake not according to this Rule, it is because there is no light in them.

2 COR. 1. 9, 10.

But wee had the sentence of death in our selves, that wee should not trust in our selves, but in the living God, which raiseth the dead; who delivered us from so great a death, and doth deliver, in whom wee trust that he will yet deliver.

LONDON,

Printed in the yeare of our Lord, 1644.

TO
ALL THAT DESIRE
The lifting up of the Name of the LORD JESUS in ſinceritie, the poore deſpiſed Churches of God in *London* ſend greeting, with prayers for their farther increaſe in the knowledge of CHRIST JESUS.

WEE *queſtion not but that it will ſeeme ſtrange to many men, that ſuch as wee are frequently termed to be, lying under that calumny and black brand of Hereticks, and ſowers of diviſion as wee doe, ſhould preſume to appeare ſo publickly as now wee have done: But yet notwithſtanding wee may well ſay, to give anſwer to ſuch, what* David *ſaid to his brother, when the* Lords *battell was a fighting,* 1Sam.29.30. *Is there not a cauſe? Surely, if ever people had cauſe to ſpeake for the vindication of the truth of* Chriſt *in their hands, wee have, that being indeed the maine wheele at this time that ſets us aworke; for had any thing by men been tranſacted againſt our perſons onely, wee could quietly have ſitten ſtill, and committed our Cauſe to him who is a righteous Judge, who will in the great day judge the ſecrets of all mens hearts by Jeſus Chriſt: But being it is not onely us, but the Truth profeſſed by us, wee cannot, wee dare not but ſpeake; it is no ſtrange thing to any obſerving man, what ſad changes are laid, not onely by the world, that know not God, but alſo by thoſe that thinke themſelves much wronged, if they be not looked upon as the chiefe Worthies of the Church of God, and Watchmen of the Citie: But it hath fared with us from them, as from the poore Spouſe ſeeking her Beloved,* Cant. 5, 6, 7. *They finding us out of that common road-way themſelves walke, have ſmote us and taken away our vaile, that ſo wee may by them be* [redacted] *odious in the eyes of all that behold us, and in the hearts of all that thinke upon us, which they have done both in Pulpit and Print, charging us with holding Free-will, Falling away from grace, denying Originall ſinne, diſclaiming of Magiſtracy, denying to aſſiſt them either in perſons*

or purse in any of their lawfull Commands, doing all unseemly in the dispensing the Ordinance of Baptisme, not to be named amongst Christians: All which Charges wee disclaime as notoriously untrue, though by reason of these calumnies cast uponus, many that feare God are discouraged and forestalled in harbouring a good thought, either of us or what wee professe; and many that know not God incouraged, if they can finde the place of our meeting, to get together in Clusters to stone us, as looking upon us as a people holding such things, as that wee are not worthy to live; Wee have therefore for the clearing of the truth wee professe, that it may be at libertie, though wee be in bonds, briefly published a Confession of our Faith, as desiring all that feare God, seriously to consider whether (if they compare what wee here say and confesse in the presence of the Lord Jesus and his Saints) men have not with their tongues in Pulpit, and pens in Print, both spoken and written things that are contrary to truth; but wee know our God in his owne time will cleere our Cause, and lift up his Sonne to make him the chiefe corner-stone, though he has been (or now should be) rejected of Master Builders. And because it may be conceived, that what is here published, may be but the Judgement of some one particular Congregation, more refined then the rest; Wee doe therefore here subscribe it, some of each body in the name, and by the appointment of seven Congregations, who though wee be distinct in respect of our particular bodies, for conveniency sake, being as many as can well meete together in one place, yet are all one in Communion, holding Jesus Christ to be our head and Lord; under whose government wee desire alone to walke, in following the Lambe whersoever he goeth; and wee beleeve the Lord will daily cause truth more to appeare in the hearts of his Saints, and make them ashamed of their folly in the Land of their Nativitie, that so they may with one shoulder, more studie to lift up the Name of the Lord Jesus, and stand for his appointments and Lawes; which is the desires and prayers of the contemned Churches of Christ in London *for all Saints.*

Subscribed in the Names of seven Churches in *London.*

William Kiffen.	*Thomas Skippard.*	*Thomas Killcop.*
Thomas Patience.	*Thomas Munday.*	*Paul Hobson.*
John Spilsbery.	*Thomas Gunne.*	*Thomas Goare.*
George Tipping.	*John Mabbatt.*	*Joseph Phelpes.*
Samuel Richardson.	*Jown Webb.*	*Edward Heath.*

THE CONFESSION

Of FAITH, of those Churches which are commonly (though falsly) called ANABAPTISTS.

I.

THAT GOD as he is in himselfe, cannot be comprehended of any but himselfe, [a] dwelling in that inaccessible light, that no eye can attaine unto, whom never man saw, nor can see; that there is but [b] one God, one Christ, one Spirit, one Faith, one Baptisme; [c] one Rule of holinesse and obedience for all Saints, at all times, in all places to be observed.

[a] 1 Tim. 6. 16.
[b] 1 Tim. 2. 5. Eph. 4. 4, 5, 6. 1 Cor. 12. 4, 5, 6, 13. Iohn 14. chap.
[c] 1 Tim. 6. 3. 13, 14. Gal. 1. 8, 9. 2 Tim. 3. 15.

II.

That God is [a] of himselfe, that is, neither from another, nor of another, nor by another, nor for another; [b] But is a Spirit, who as his being is of himselfe, so he gives [c] being, moving, and preservation to all other things, being in himselfe eternall, most holy, every way infinite in [d] greatnesse, wisdome, power, justice, goodnesse, truth, &c. In this God-head, there is the Father, the Sonne, and the Spirit; being every one of them one and the same God; and therefore not divided, but distinguished one from another by their severall properties; the [e] Father being from himselfe, the [f] Sonne of the Father from everlasting, the holy [g] Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Sonne.

[a] Esa 44. 6. & 43. 11. & 46. 9.
[b] Iohn 4. 24.
[c] Exod. 3. 14.
[d] Rom. 11. 36. Act. 17. 28.
[e] 1 Cor. 8. 6.
[f] Pro. 8. 22, 23. Heb. 1. 3. Iohn 1. 18.
[g] Ioh. 15. 26. Gal. 4. 6.

III.

III.

That God hath [a] decreed in himselfe from everlasting touching all things, effectually to work and dispose them [b] according to the counsell of his owne will, to the glory of his Name; in which decree appeareth his wisdome, constancy, truth, and faithfulnesse; [c] Wisdome is that whereby he contrives all things; [d] Constancy is that whereby the decree of God remaines alwayes immutable; [e] Truth is that whereby he declares that alone which he hath decreed, and though his sayings may seeme to sound sometimes another thing, yet the sense of them doth alwayes agree with the decree; [f] Faithfulnesse is that whereby he effects that he hath decreed, as he hath decreed. And touching his creature man, [g] God had in Christ before the foundation of the world, according to the good pleasure of his will, foreordained some men to eternall life through Jesus Christ, to the praise and glory of his grace, [h] leaving the rest in their sinne to their just condemnation, to the praise of his Justice.

[a] Esa. 46. 10. Rom. 11. 34, 35, 36. Mat. 10 29, 30
[b] Eph. 1. 11.
[c] Col. 2. 3.
[d] Num. 23. 19, 20.
[e] Jere. 10. 10. Rom. 3. 4.
[f] Esa. 44. 10.
[g] Eph. 1. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7. 2 Tim. 1. 9. Acts 13. 48. Rom. 8. 29, 30
[h] Jude ver. 4. & 6. Rom. 9. 11, 12, 13. Prov. 16. 4.

IV.

[a] In the beginning God made all things very good, created man after his own [b] Image and likenesse, filling him with all perfection of all naturall excellency and uprightnesse, free from all sinne. [c] But long he abode not in this honour, but by the [d] subtiltie of the Serpent, which Satan used as his instrument, himselfe with his Angels having sinned before, and not [e] kept their first estate, but left their owne habitation; first [f] *Eve*, then *Adam* being seduced did wittingly and willingly fall into disobedience and transgression of the Commandement of their great Creator, for the which death came upon all, and reigned over all, so that all since the Fall are conceived in sinne, and brought forth in iniquitie, and so by nature children of wrath, and servants of sinne, subjects of [g] death, and all other

[a] Gen. 1. chap. Col. 1. 16. Heb. 11. 3. Esa. 45. 12.
[b] Gen. 1. 26. 1 Cor. 15. 45, 46. Eccles. 7. 31.
[c] Psal. 49. 20.
[d] Gen. 3. 1 4, 5 2 Cor. 11. 3. 2 Pet. 2. 4. Jude ver. 6. Joh. 8. 44.
[e] Gen. 3. 1, 2, 6 1 Tim. 2. 14. Eccles. 7. 31. Gal. 3. 22.
[g] Rom. 5. 12, 18, 19. & 6. 23. Eph. 2. 3. Rom. 5. 12.

other calamities due to ſinne in this world and for ever, being conſidered in the ſtate of nature, without relation to Chriſt.

V.

All mankind being thus fallen, and become altogether dead in ſinnes and treſpaſſes, and ſubject to the eternall wrath of the great God by tranſgreſſion; yet the elect, which God hath [a] loved with an everlaſting love, are [b] redeemed, quickned, and ſaved, not by themſelves, neither by their own workes, leſt any man ſhould boaſt himſelfe, but wholly and onely by God of [c] his free grace and mercie through Jeſus Chriſt, who of God is made unto us wiſdome, righteouſneſſe, ſanctification and redemption, that as it is written, Hee that rejoyceth, let him rejoyce in the Lord.

a Ier. 31. 3.
b Gen. 3. 15. Eph. 1. 3, 7. & 2, 4, 9. 1 Theſſ. 5. 9. Acts 13. 38.
c 1 Cor. 1. 30, 31. 2 Cor. 5. 21. Jer. 9. 23, 24.

VI.

[a] This therefore is life eternall, to know the onely true God, and whom he hath ſent Jeſus Chriſt. [b] And on the contrary, the Lord will render vengeance in flaming fire to them that know not God, and obey not the Goſpel of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt.

a Joh. 17. 3. Heb. 5. 9. Jer. 23. 5, 6.
b 2 Theſſ. 1. 8. Joh. 3. 36.

VII.

The Rule of this Knowledge, Faith, and Obedience, concerning the worſhip and ſervice of God, and all other Chriſtian duties, is not mans inventions, opinions, devices, lawes, conſtitutions, or traditions unwritten whatſoever, but onely the word of God contained in the Canonicall Scriptures.

Joh. 5. 39. 2 Tim. 3. 15, 16, 17. Col. 2. 1. 18, 23 Matth. 15. 9.

VIII.

In this written Word God hath plainly revealed whatſoever he hath thought needfull for us to know, beleeve, and acknowledge, touching the Nature and Office of Chriſt, in whom all the promiſes are Yea and Amen to the praiſe of God.

Acts 3. 22, 23. Heb. 1. 1, 2. 2 Tim. 3. 15, 16, 17. 2 Cor. 1. 20.

Touching

IX.

Touching the Lord Jesus, of whom [a] *Moses* and the Prophets wrote, and whom the Apostles preached, is the [b] Sonne of God the Father, the brightnesse of his glory, the ingraven forme of his being, God with him and with his holy Spirit, by whom he made the world, by whom he upholds and governes all the workes hee hath made, who also [c] when the fulnesse of time was come, was made man of a [d] woman, of the Tribe of [e] *Judah*, of the seed of *Abraham* and *David*, to wit, of *Mary* that blessed Virgin, by the holy Spirit comming upon her, and the power of the most High overshadowing her, and was also [f] in all things like unto us, sinne onely excepted.

a Gen. 3. 15. & 22. 18. & 49. 10. Dan. 7. 13. & 9. 24, 25, 26.
b Prov. 8. 23. Joh. 1. 1, 2, 3. Col. 1. 15, 16, 17.
c Gal. 4. 4.
d Heb 7. 14. Rev. 5. 5. with Gen. 49. 9, 10. Rom. 1. 3. & 9. 5. Mat. 1. 16. with Luke 3. 23. 26. Heb. 2. 16.
f Esa. 53. 3, 4, 5 Phil. 2. 8.

X.

Touching his Office, [a] Jesus Christ onely is made the Mediator of the new Covenant, even the everlasting Covenant of grace between God and Man, to [b] be perfectly and fully the Prophet, Priest and King of the Church of God for evermore.

a 2 Tim. 2. 15. Heb 9. 15. Joh. 14. 6.
b Heb. 1. 2. & 3 1, 2. & 7. 24. Esa. 9. 6, 7. Acts 5. 31.

XI.

Unto this Office hee was fore-ordained from everlasting, by the [a] authority of the Father, and in respect of his Manhood, from the womb called and separated, and [b] anointed also most fully and abundantly with all gifts necessary, God having without measure poured the Spirit upon him.

a Prov. 8. 23. Esa. 42. 6. & 49. 1. 5.
b Esa. 11. 2, 3, 4, 5. & 61. 1, 2, 3. with Luk. 4. 17, 22. Joh. 1. 14 16. & 3. 34.

XII.

In this Call the Scripture holds forth two speciall things considerable; first, the call to the Office; secondly, the Office it self. First, that [a] none takes this honour but he that is called of God, as was *Aaron*, so also Christ, it being an action especially of God the Father, whereby a speciall covenant being made, hee ordaines his Sonne to this office: which Covenant is, that [b] Christ should be made

a Heb. 5. 4, 5, 6
b Esa. 53. 10. 11.

made a Sacrifice for ſinne, that hee ſhall ſee his ſeed, and prolong his dayes, and the pleaſure of the Lord ſhall proſper in his hand; which calling therefore contains in it ſelfe [e] chuſing, [d] fore-ordaining, [e] ſending. Chuſing reſpects the end, fore-ordaining the means, ſending the execution it ſelf, [f] all of meere grace, without any condition fore-ſeen, either in men, or in Chriſt himſelfe.

[c] Eſa. 42. 1; [d] 1 Pet. 1. 20. [e] Joh. 3. 17. & 9. 27. & 10. 36 Eſa. 61. 1. [f] Joh. 3. 16. Rom. 8. 32.

XIII.

So that this Office to be Mediator, that is, to be Prophet, Prieſt, and King of the Church of God, is ſo proper to Chriſt, as neither in the whole, nor in any part thereof, it can be transferred from him to any other.

1 Tim. 2. 5. Heb. 7. 24. Dan. 9. 24. Act. 4. 12. Luke 1. 33. Ioh. 14. 6.

XIV.

This Office it ſelf to which Chriſt was called, is threefold, of [a] a Prophet, of [b] Prieſt, & of [c] a King: this number and order of Offices is ſhewed; firſt, by mens neceſſities grievouſly labouring [d] under ignorance, by reaſon whereof they ſtand in infinit neceſſity of the Prophetical office of Chriſt to relieve them. Secondly, alienation frõ God, wherein they ſtand in need of the Prieſtly Office to reconcile them: Thirdly, our [e] utter diſability to return to him, by which they ſtand in need of the power of Chriſt in his Kingly Office to aſſiſt and govern them.

[a] Deut. 18. 15. with Act. 3. 22. 23. [b] Pſal. 110. 3. Heb. 3. 1. & 4. 14. 15. & 5. 6. & 8. 22. [c] Pſal. 2. 6. [d] Act. 26. 18. Col. 1. 3. [e] Col. 1. 21. Eph. 2. 12. [f] Cant. 1. 3. Ioh. 6. 44.

XV.

Touching the Propheſie of Chriſt, it is that whereby he hath [a] perfectly revealed the whole will of God out of the boſome of the Father, that is needfull for his ſervants

[a] Ioh. 1. 18. & 12. 49. 50. & 15. & 17. 8. Deut. 18. 15.

to know, beleeve, and obey; and therefore is called not
b Matth. 23. 10. onely a Prophet and b a Doctor, and the c Apostle of our
c Heb. 3. 1. profession, and the d Angel of the Covenant; but also the
d Mal. 3. 1. very e wisdome of God, and f the treasures of wisdome
e 1 Cor. 1. 24. and understanding.
f Col. 2. 3.

XVI.

5 That he might be such a Prophet as thereby to be every
a Ioh. 1. 18. & way compleat, it was necessary that he should bee a God,
3. 13. and withall also that he should be man; for unlesse hee had been God, he could never have perfectly understood
b 1 Cor. 2. 11. 16. the will of God, b neither had he been able to reveale it throughout all ages; and unlesse hee had been man, hee
c Acts 3. 22. with could not fitly have unfolded it in his c own person to
Deut. 18. 15. man.
Heb. 1. 1.

XVII.

a Ioh. 17. 19. Touching his Priesthood, Christ a being consecrated,
Heb. 5. 7, 8, 9. & hath appeared once to put away sinne by the offering and
9. 26. sacrifice of himself, and to this end hath fully performed
Rom 5. 19. and suffered all those things by which God, through the
Ephes. 5. 2. blood of that his Crosse in an acceptable sacrifice, might
Col. 2. 20. reconcile his elect onely; b and having broken downe the
b Eph. 2. 14, 15, partition wall, and therwith finished & removed all those
16. Rites, Shadowes, and Ceremonies, is now entred within
Rom. 8. 34. the Vaile, into the Holy of Holiest, that is, to the very Heavens, and presence of God, where he for ever liveth and sitteth at the right hand of Majesty, appearing before the face of his Father to make intercession for such as come to the Throne of Grace by that new and living way;
c 1 Pet. 2. 5. and not that onely, but c makes his people a spirituall
Ioh. 4. 23. 24. House; an holy Priesthood, to offer up spirituall sacri-

fice

fice acceptable to God through him; neither doth the Father accept, or Chriſt offer to the Father any other worſhip or worſhippers.

XVIII.

This Prieſthood was not legall, or temporary, but according to the order [a] of *Melchiſedec*; [b] not by a carnall commandement, but by the power of an endleſſe life; [c] not by an order that is weak and lame, but ſtable and perfect; not for a [d] time, but for ever, admitting no ſucceſſor, but perpetuall and proper to Chriſt, and of him that ever liveth. Chriſt himſelfe was the Prieſt, Sacrifice and Altar: he was [e] Prieſt, according to both natures, hee was a ſacrifice moſt properly according to his humane nature: [f] whence in the Scripture it is wont to be attributed to his body, to his blood; yet the chiefe force whereby this ſacrifice was made effectuall, did depend upon his [g] divine nature, namely, that the Sonne of God did offer himſelfe for us: he was the [h] Altar properly according to his divine nature, it belonging to the Altar to ſanctifie that which is offered upon it, and ſo it ought to be of greater dignity then the Sacrifice it ſelfe.

[a] Heb. 7. 17.
[b] Heb. 7. 16.
[c] Heb. 7. 18, 19, 20, 21.
[d] Heb. 7. 24, 25.
[e] Heb. 5. 6.
[f] Heb. 10. 12. 1 Pet. 1. 18, 19. Col. 1. 20, 22. Iſa. 53. 10. Matth. 20. 28.
[g] Act. 20. 28. Rom. 8. 3.
[h] Heb. 9. 14. & 13. 10, 12, 15. Matth. 23. 17. Ioh. 17. 19.

XIX.

Touching his Kingdome, [a] Chriſt being riſen from the dead, aſcended into heaven, ſat on the right hand of God the Father, having all power in heaven and earth, given unto him, he doth ſpiritually govern his Church, exerciſing his power [b] over all Angels and Men, good and bad, to the preſervation and ſalvation of the elect, to the overruling and deſtruction of his enemies, which are the Reprobates,

[a] 1 Cor. 15. 4. 1 Pet. 3. 21, 22. Matth. 28. 18, 19, 20. Luke 24. 51. Act. 1 11. & 3. 20, 21. John 19. 36. Rom. 14. 17.
[b] Mark 1. 27. Heb. 1. 14. John 16. 7, 13.

c John 5.26,27. Rom.5.6,7,8. & 14.17. Gal.5.22, 23. John 1.4,13.

probates, c communicating and applying the benefits, vertue, and fruit of his Propheſie and Prieſthood to his elect, namely, to the ſubduing and taking away of their ſinnes, to their juſtification and adoption of Sonnes, regeneration, ſanctification, preſervation and ſtrengthening in all their conflicts againſt Satan, the World, the Fleſh, and the temptations of them, continually dwelling in, governing and keeping their hearts in faith and filiall

d John 13.1. & 10.28,29. & 14. 16,17. Rom. 11.29. Pſal. 51.10,11. Job. 33.29 30. 2 Cor. 12.7, 9.

feare by his Spirit, which having d given it, he never takes away from them, but by it ſtill begets and nouriſheth in them faith, repentance, love, joy, hope, and all heavenly light in the ſoule unto immortality, notwithſtanding through our own unbeliefe, and the temptations of Satan, the ſenſible ſight of this light and love be clouded and overwhelmed for the time. e And on the contrary, ruling

e Job 1. and 2. Chap. Rom. 1. 21. & 2.4, 5, 6. & 9. 17, 18. Eph. 4. 17, 18. 2 Pet. 2. chap.

in the world over his enemies, Satan, and all the veſſels of wrath, limiting, uſing, reſtraining them by his mighty power, as ſeems good in his divine wiſdome & juſtice to the execution of his determinate counſell, delivering them up to a reprobate mind, to be kept through their own deſerts, in darkneſſe and ſenſuality unto judgement.

XX.

1 Cor. 15.24, 28. Heb. 9.28. 2 Theſſ. 1. 9. 10. 2 Theſſ. 4. 15, 16, 17. John 17. 22, 26.

This Kingdome ſhall be then fully perfected when hee ſhall the ſecond time come in glory to reigne amongſt his Saints, and to be admired of all them which doe beleeve, when he ſhall put downe all rule and authority under his feet, that the glory of the Father may be full and perfectly manifeſted in his Sonne, and the glory of the Father and the Sonne in all his members.

That

XXI.

That Chriſt Jeſus by his death did bring forth ſalvation and reconciliation onely for the [a] elect, which were thoſe which [b] God the Father gave him; & that the Goſpel which is to be preached to all men as the ground of faith, is, that [c] Ieſus is the Chriſt, the Sonne of the ever-bleſſed God, filled with the perfection of all heavenly and ſpirituall excellencies, and that ſalvation is onely and alone to be had through the beleeving in his Name.

[a] John 15.13. Rom. 8. 32, 33, 34. Rom. 5. 11, & 3.25.
[b] Joh. 17. 2. with 6.37.
[c] Matth. 16. 16. Luke 2. 26. Ioh. 6.69. & 7. 3. & 20.31. 1 Iohn 5.11.

XXII.

That Faith is the [a] gift of God wrought in the hearts of the elect by the Spirit of God, whereby they come to ſee, know, and beleeve the truth of [b] the Scriptures, & not onely ſo, but the excellencie of them above all other writings and things in the world, as they hold forth the glory of God in his attributes, the excellency of Chriſt in his nature and offices, and the power of the fulneſſe of the Spirit in its workings and operations; and thereupon are inabled to caſt the weight of their ſoules upon this truth thus beleeved.

[a] Eph. 2. 8. Ioh. 6. 29. & 4. 10. Phil. 1. 29. Gal. 5. 22.
[b] Ioh. 17. 17. Heb. 4. 12, 13. Iohn 6. 63.

XXIII.

Thoſe that have this pretious faith wrought in them by the Spirit, can never finally nor totally fall away; and though many ſtormes and floods do ariſe and beat againſt them, yet they ſhall never be able to take them off that foundation and rock which by faith they are faſtened upon, but ſhall be kept by the power of God to ſalvation,

Matth. 7. 24, 25. Iohn 13. 1. 1 Pet. 1. 4, 5, 6. Iſa. 49. 13, 14, 15, 16.

where they shall enjoy their purchased possession, they being formerly engraven upon the palms of Gods hands.

XXIV.

a Rom. 10. 17. 1 Cor. 1. 21. *b* Rom. 9. 16. *c* Rom. 3. 1, 2. Ezek. 16. 6. Rom. 3. 12. *d* Rom. 1. 16. Eph. 1. 19. Col. 2. 12.

That faith is ordinarily [a] begot by the preaching of the Gospel, or word of Christ, without respect to [b] any power or capacitie in the creature, but it is wholly [c] passive, being dead in sinnes and trespasses, doth beleeve, and is converted by no lesse power, [d] then that which raised Christ from the dead.

XXV.

a Ioh. 3. 14, 15 & 1. 12. Esa. 55. 1. Ioh. 7. 37. *b* 1 Tim. 1. 15. Rom. 4. 5. & 5. 8. *c* Act. 5. 30, 31 & 2. 36. 1 Cor. 1. 22, 23, 24.

That the tenders of the Gospel to the conversion of sinners, [a] is absolutely free, no way requiring, as absolutely necessary, any qualifications, preparations, terrors of the Law, or preceding Ministery of the Law, but onely and alone the naked soule, as a [b] sinner and ungodly to receive Christ, as crucified, dead, and buried, and risen againe, being made [c] a Prince and a Saviour for such sinners.

XXVI.

a 1 Pet. 1. 5. 2 Cor. 12. 9. *b* 1 Cor. 15. 10 *c* Phil. 2. 12, 13 Joh. 15. 5. Gal. 2. 19, 20.

That the same power that converts to faith in Christ, the same power carries on the [a] soule still through all duties, temptations, conflicts, sufferings, and continually what ever a Christian is, he is by [b] grace, and by a constant renewed [c] operation from God, without which he cannot performe any dutie to God, or undergoe any temptations from Satan, the world, or men.

XXVII.

That God the Father, and Sonne, and Spirit, is one with

with [a] all beleevers, in their [b] fulneſſe, in [c] relations, [d] as head and members, [e] as houſe and inhabitants, as [f] husband and wife, one with him, as [g] light and love, and one with him in his inheritance, and in all his [h] glory; and that all beleevers by vertue of this union and oneneſſe with God, are the adopted ſonnes of God, and heires with Chriſt, co-heires and joynt heires with him of the inheritance of all the promiſes of this life, and that which is to come.

[a] 1 Theſſ. 1. 1. Joh. 14. 10. 20. & 17. 21.
[b] Col. 2. 9, 10. & 1. 19. Joh. 1. 17.
[c] Joh. 20. 17. Heb. 2. 11.
[d] Col. 1. 18. Eph. 5. 30.
[e] Eph. 2. 22. 1 Cor. 3. 16, 17
[f] Eſa. 16. 5. 2 Cor. 11. 3.
[g] Gal 3. 16.
[h] Joh. 17. 24.

XXVIII.

That thoſe which have union with Chriſt, are juſtified from all their ſinnes, paſt, [a] preſent, and to come, by the bloud of Chriſt; which juſtification wee conceive to be a gracious and free [b] acquittance of a guiltie, ſinfull creature, from all ſin by God, through the ſatisfaction that Chriſt hath made by his death; and this applyed in the manifeſtation of it through faith.

[a] 1 Joh. 1. 7. Heb. 10. 14. & 9. 26. 2 Cor. 5. 19. Rom. 3. 23.
[b] Acts 13. 38, 39. Rom. 5. 1. & 3. 25, 30.

XXIX.

That all beleevers are a holy and [a] ſanctified people, and that ſanctification is a ſpirituall grace of the [b] new Covenant, and effect of the [c] love of God, manifeſted to the ſoule, whereby the beleever is in [d] truth and realitie ſeparated, both in ſoule and body, from all ſinne and dead workes, through the [e] bloud of the everlaſting Covenant, whereby he alſo preſſeth after a heavenly and Evangelicall perfection, in obedience to all the Commands, [f] which Chriſt as head and King in this new Covenant has preſcribed to him.

[a] 1 Cor. 1. 1. 1 Pet. 2. 9.
[b] Eph. 1. 4.
[c] 1 Joh. 4. 16.
[d] Eph. 4. 24.
[e] Phil. 3. 15.
[f] Mat. 28. 20.

XXX.

All beleevers through the knowledge of [a] that Juſtification

[a] 2 Cor. 5. 19. Rom. 5. 9, 10.

fication of life given by the Father, and brought forth by the bloud of Christ, have this as their great privi-
[b] Esa. 54. 10. & 16. 12. ledge of that new [b] Covenant, peace with God, and re-
conciliation, whereby they that were afarre off, were
[c] Eph. 2. 13, 14 brought nigh by [c] that bloud, and have (as the Scripture
[d] Phil. 4. 7. speaks) peace [d] passing all understanding, yea, joy in God,
[e] Rom. 5. 10, 11. through our Lord Jesus Christ, by [e] whom wee have received the Atonement.

XXXI.

That all beleevers in the time of this life, are in a con-
Eph. 6. 10, 11, 12, 13. tinuall warfare, combate, and opposition against sinne,
2 Cor. 10. 3. selfe, the world, and the Devill, and liable to all manner
Rev. 2. 9, 10 of afflictions, tribulations, and persecutions, and so shall continue untill Christ comes in his Kingdome, being predestinated and appointed thereunto; and whatsoever the Saints, any of them doe possesse or enjoy of God in this life, is onely by faith.

XXXII.

Joh. 16. 33. That the onely strength by which the Saints are inabled to incounter with all opposition, and to overcome all afflictions, temptations, persecutions, and tryalls, is
Heb. 2. 9, 10. onely by Jesus Christ, who is the Captain of their salvation, being made perfect through sufferings, who hath
John 15. 5. ingaged his strength to assist them in all their afflictions, and to uphold them under all their temptations, and to preserve them by his power to his everlasting Kingdome.

XXXIII.

That Christ hath here on earth a spirituall Kingdome, which

which is the Church, which he hath purchased and redeemed to himselfe, as a peculiar inheritance: which Church, as it is visible to us, is a company of visible [a] Saints, [b] called & separated from the world, by the word and [c] Spirit of God, to the visible profession of the faith of the Gospel, being baptized into that faith, and joyned to the Lord, and each other, by mutuall agreement, in the practical injoyment of the [d] Ordinances, commanded by Christ their head and King.

[a] 1 Cor. 1. 2. Eph. 1. 1.
[b] Rom. 1. 7. Act. 16. 18. 1 Thes. 1. 9. 2 Cor. 6. 17. Rev. 18. 18.
[c] Acts 2. 37. with Acts 10. 37.
[d] Rom. 10. 10. Act. 20. 21. Mat. 18. 19. 20. Act. 2. 42. 1 Pet. 2. 5.

XXXIV.

To this Church he hath [a] made his promises, and given the signes of his Covenant, presence, love, blessing, and protection: here are the fountains and springs of his heavenly grace continually flowing forth; [b] thither ought all men to come, of all estates, that acknowledge him to be their Prophet, Priest, and King, to be inrolled amongst his houshold servants, to be under his heavenly conduct and government, to lead their lives in his walled sheepfold, and watered garden, to have communion here with the Saints, that they may be made to be partakers of their inheritance in the Kingdome of God.

[a] Mat. 28. 18, 19, 20. 2 Cor. 6. 18.
[b] Esa. 8. 16. 1 Tim. 3. 15. & 4. 16. & 6. 3. 5. Acts 2. 41. 47. Song 4. 12. Gal. 6. 10. Eph. 2. 19.

XXXV.

And all his servants are called thither, to present their bodies and soules, and to bring their gifts God hath given them; so being come, they are here by himselfe bestowed in their severall order, peculiar place, due use, being fitly compact and knit together, according to the effectuall working of every part, to the edification of it selfe in love.

1 Cor. 12. 6, 7, 12. 18. Rom. 12. 4, 5, 6. 1 Pet. 4. 10. Eph. 4. 16. Col. 2. 5. 6. 19. 1 Cor. 12. 22. to the end.

XXXVI.

a Acts 1. 2. & 6. 3. with 15. 22. 25 1 Cor. 16. 3. b Rom. 12. 7, 8 & 16. 1. 1 Cor. 12 8 28 1 Tim. 3. chap. Heb. 13. 7. 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2, 3.

That being thus joyned, every Church has a power given them from Christ for their better well-being, to choose to themselves meet persons into the office of b Pastors, Teachers, Elders, Deacons, being qualified according to the Word, as those which Christ has appointed in his Testament, for the feeding, governing, serving, and building up of his Church, and that none other have power to impose them, either these or any other.

XXXVII.

Heb. 5. 4. Acts 4. 23. 1 Tim. 4. 14. Joh. 10. 3, 4. Acts 20. 28. Rom. 12. 7, 8. Heb. 13. 7. 17.

That the Ministers aforesaid, lawfully called by the Church, where they are to administer, ought to continue in their calling, according to Gods Ordinance, and carefully to feed the flock of Christ committed to them, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready minde.

XXXVIII.

1 Cor. 9. 7. 14. Gal. 6. 6. 1 Thes. 5. 13. 1 Tim. 5. 17, 18. Phil. 4. 15, 16.

That the due maintenance of the Officers aforesaid, should be the free and voluntary communication of the Church, that according to Christs Ordinance, they that preach the Gospel, should live on the Gospel, and not by constraint to be compelled from the people by a forced Law.

XXXIX.

Mat. 28. 18, 19 Mark. 16. 16.

That Baptisme is an Ordinance of the new Testament, given by Christ, to be dispensed onely upon persons professing

fessing faith, or that are Disciples, or taught, who upon a profession of faith, ought to be baptized. Acts 2.37,38. & 8.36,37,38 & 18. 8.

XL.

The way and manner of the [a] dispensing of this Ordinance, the Scripture holds out to be dipping or plunging the whole body under water: it being a signe, must answer the thing signified, which are these: first, the [b] washing the whole soule in the bloud of Christ: Secondly, that interest the Saints have in the [c] death, buriall, and resurrection; thirdly, together with a [d] confirmation of our faith, that as certainly as the body is buried under water, and riseth againe, so certainly shall the bodies of the Saints be raised by the power of Christ, in the day of the resurrection, to reigne with Christ.

The word *Baptizo*, signifying to dip under water, yet so as with convenient garment, both upon the administrator and subject, with all modestie.

[a] Mat. 3. 16. Joh. 3. 23. Acts 8. 38.
[b] Rev. 1. 5. & 7. 14. with Heb. 10. 22.
[c] Rom. 6. 3, 4, 5
[d] 1 Cor. 15. 28, 29.

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The persons designed by Christ, to dispense this Ordinance, the [a] Scriptures hold forth to be a preaching Disciple, it being no where tyed to a particular Church, Officer, or person extraordinarily sent, the Commission injoyning the administration, being given to them under no other consideration, but as considered Disciples.

[a] Esa. 8. 16. Mat. 28. 16, 17 18, 19. John 4. 1, 2. Acts 20. 7. Mat. 26. 26.

XLII.

Christ has likewise given power to his whole Church to receive in and cast out, by way of Excommunication, any member; and this power is given to every particular Congregation, and not one particular person, either member or Officer, but the whole.

Acts 2. 47. Rom. 16. 2. Math. 18. 17. 1 Cor. 5. 4. 2 Cor. 2, 6, 7, 8.

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XLIII.

Mat. 18. 16, 17, 18. Act. 11. 2, 3. 1 Tim. 5. 19, 20, 21.

And every particular member of each Church, how excellent, great, or learned soever, ought to be subject to this censure and judgement of Christ; and the Church ought with great care and tenderneſſe, with due advice to proceed against her members.

XLIV.

a Acts 20. 27, 28. Heb. 13. 17. 24 Mat. 24. 25. 1 Thes. 5. 14. b Mark. 13. 34. 37. Gal. 6. 1. 1 Thes. 5. 11. Jude ver. 3. 20 Heb. 10. 24. 25 & 12. 15.

And as Christ for the a keeping of this Church in holy and orderly Communion, placeth some speciall men over the Church, who by their office are to governe, oversee, visit, watch; so likewise for the better keeping thereof in all places, by the members, he hath given b authoritie, and laid dutie upon all, to watch over one another.

XLV.

1 Cor. 14. cha. Rom 12. 6. 1 Pet. 4. 10, 11 1 Cor. 12. 7. 1 Thes. 5. 17, 18, 19.

That also such to whom God hath given gifts, being tryed in the Church, may and ought by the appointment of the Congregation, to propheſie, according to the proportion of faith, and so to teach publickly the Word of God, for the edification, exhortation, and comfort of the Church.

XLVI.

Rev. 2. & 3. Chapters. Acts 15. 12. 1 Cor. 1. 10. Ephes. 2. 16. & 3. 15. 18. Heb. 10. 25. Jude vers. 18. Matth. 18. 19. 1 Cor. 5. 4, 5.

Thus being rightly gathered, eſtabliſhed, and still proceeding in Christian communion, and obedience of the Gospel of Christ, none ought to separate for faults and corruptions, which may, and as long as the Church consists of men subject to failings, will fall out and arise amongst them, even in true constituted Churches, untill they have in due order sought redreſſe thereof.

And

XLVII.

And although the particular Congregations be distinct and severall Bodies, every one as a compact and knit Citie in it selfe; yet are they all to walk by one and the same Rule, and by all meanes convenient to have the counsell and help one of another in all needfull affaires of the Church, as members of one body in the common faith under Christ their onely head.

1 Cor. 4. 17. & 14. 33, 36. & 16. 1. Matth. 28. 20. 1 Tim. 3. 15. & 6. 13, 14. Rev. 22. 18. 19. Col. 2. 6, 19. & 4. 16.

XLVIII.

That a civill Magistracie is an ordinance of God set up by God for the punishment of evill doers, and for the praise of them that doe well; and that in all lawfull things commanded by them, subjection ought to be given by us in the Lord: and that we are to make supplication and prayer for Kings, and all that are in authority, that under them we may live a peaceable and quiet life in all godlines and honesty.

Rom. 13. 1, 2, 3, 4. 1 Pet. 2. 13. 14. 1 Tim. 2. 2.

XLIX.

The supreme Magistracie of this Kingdome we beleeve to be the King and Parliament freely chosen by the Kingdome, and that in all those civill Lawes which have been acted by them, or for the present is or shall be ordained, we are bound to yeeld subjection and obedience unto in the Lord, as conceiving our selves bound to defend both the persons of those thus chosen, and all civill Lawes made by them, with our persons, liberties, and estates, with all that is called ours, although we should suffer never so much from them in not actively submitting to some Ecclesiasticall Lawes, which might be conceived by them to

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be their duties to eſtabliſh, which we for the preſent could not ſee, nor our conſciences could ſubmit unto; yet are we bound to yeeld our perſons to their pleaſures.

L.

1 Tim. 2. 2, 3, 4. Pſal. 126. 1. Acts 9. 31.

And if God ſhould provide ſuch a mercie for us, as to incline the Magiſtrates hearts ſo for to tender our conſciences, as that we might bee protected by them from wrong, injury, oppreſſion and moleſtation, which long we formerly have groaned under by the tyranny and oppreſſion of the Prelaticall Hierarchy, which God through mercy hath made this preſent King and Parliament wonderfull honourable, as an inſtrument in his hand, to throw downe; and we thereby have had ſome breathing time, we ſhall, we hope, look at it as a mercy beyond our expectation, and conceive our ſelves further engaged for ever to bleſſe God for it.

L I.

a Acts 2. 40, 41. & 4. 19. & 5. 28. 29, 41. & 20. 23. 1 Theſſ. 3. 3. Phil. 1. 27, 28, 29. Dan. 3. 16, 17. & 6, 7, 10, 22, 23. b Matth. 28. 19, 19, 20. 1 Tim. 6. 13, 14, 15. Rom. 12. 1, 2. 1 Cor. 14, 37. 2 Tim. 4. 7, 8. Rev. 2. 10. Gal. 2. 4, 5.

But if God with-hold the Magiſtrates allowance and furtherance herein; a yet we muſt notwithſtanding proceed together in Chriſtian communion, not daring to give place to ſuſpend our practiſe, but to walk in obedience to Chriſt in the profeſſion and holding forth this faith before mentioned, even in the midſt of all trialls and afflictions, not accounting our goods, lands, wives, children, fathers, mothers, brethren, ſiſters, yea, and our own lives dear unto us, ſo we may finiſh our courſe with joy: remembring alwayes we ought to b obey God rather then men, and grounding upon the commandement, commiſſion and promiſe of our Lord and maſter Jeſus Chriſt, who

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as he hath all power in heaven and earth, so also hath promised, if we keep his commandements which he hath given us, to be with us to the end of the world: and when we have finished our course, and kept the faith, to give us the crowne of righteousnesse, which is laid up for all that love his appearing, and to whom we must give an account of all our actions, no man being able to discharge us of the same.

LII.

And likewise unto all men is to be given whatsoever is their due; tributes, customes, and all such lawfull duties, ought willingly to bee by us paid and performed, our lands, goods, and bodies, to submit to the Magistrate in the Lord, and the Magistrate every way to bee acknowledged, reverenced, and obeyed, according to godlinesse; not because of wrath onely, but for conscience sake. And finally, all men so to be esteemed and regarded, as is due and meet for their place, age, estate and condition.

Rom. 13. 5, 6, 7. Matth. 22. 21. Titus 3. 1 Pet. 2. 13. Ephes. 5. 21, 22. & 6. 1, 9. 1 Pet. 3. 5.

LII.

And thus wee desire to give unto God that which is Gods, and unto *Cesar* that which is *Cesars*, and unto all men that which belongeth unto them, endevouring our selves to have alwayes a cleare conscience void of offence towards God, and towards man. And if any take this that we have said, to be heresie, then doe wee with the Apostle freely confesse, that after the way which they call heresie, worship we the God of our Fathers, beleeving all things which are written in the Law and in the Prophets and Apostles, desiring from our soules to disclaime all heresies and

Matth. 22. 21. Acts 23. 14, 15, 16. 1 John 5. 18. 2 Cor. 4. 17. 1 Tim. 6. 3, 4, 5. 1 Cor. 15. 58, 59.

and opinions which are not after Chriſt, and to be ſted-faſt, unmoveable, alwayes abounding in the worke of the Lord, as knowing our labour ſhall not be in vain in the Lord.

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1 Cor. 1. 24.

Not that we have dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your joy: for by faith we ſtand.

FINIS.



25

Jus Populi.

OR,

A DISCOURSE

Wherein clear satisfaction is given, as well concerning the Right of SUBIECTS, as the Right of PRINCES.

Shewing how both are consistent, and where they border one upon the other.

AS ALSO,

What there is Divine, and what there is Humane in both: and whether is of more value and extent.

Claudianus ad Honorium.

Tu Civem, Patremque geras, tu consule cunctis:
Non tibi, nec tuis, te moveant, sed publica damna.

In private matters do a Brothers part,
In publick be a Father; let thy heart
Be vast as is thy fortune, and extend
Beyond thy self, unto the Common end.

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OR,

A DISCOURSE

Wherein clear ſatisfaction is given as well concerning the right of Subjects, as the right of Princes. &c.

THe *Obſervator* (ſo he is ſtiled at Oxford) writing againſt our paraſiticall Court-Doctors, who think they cannot be meritorious Patrons of Royalty, without ſhewing themſelves Anti-patriots, or deſtroyers of publick liberty, grounds himſelf upon theſe three main Aſſertions. 1 *Princes derive their power, and prerogatives from the people.* Secondly, *Princes have their inveſtitures meerly for the peoples benefit.* Thirdly, *In all well-formed States the Laws, by which Princes claim, do declare themſelves more in favour of liberty then Prerogative.*

Much art, force, and induſtry has been uſed to deſtroy theſe fundamentals, wherein though the Royaliſts have not been prevalent in the judgement of wiſe men, yet ſomething muſt further be replyed, for the weaker ſort of peoples ſake, leſt multitudes of opponents ſhould ſway them, and effect that by number, which cannot be done by weight.

Man (ſaies the Apoſtle) *was not made of the woman, but the woman of man:* and this is made an argument why the woman ſhould pay a due ſubjection to man. And again, *Man* (ſaies the ſame Apoſtle)

was not created for the woman, but the woman for the man; this is made an other argument to inforce the same thing. There cannot be therefore any to pick rules more properly pressed then these: nay without offering some contradiction to the Spirit of God, we cannot reject the same form of arguing in the case of a people, and their Prince: especially when we do not insist onely upon the vertue of the efficient or finall cause, but also upon the effect it self, and that form of Law, which was (as it were) the product of both.

Let us now then re-examine these three grounds, and seek to give further satisfaction to others, by inlarging our Discourse, where our adversaries have given a just occasion. If we can make it good *that Princes were created by the people, for the peoples sake, and so limited by expresse Laws as that they might not violate the peoples liberty*, it will naturally follow; that though they be *singulis majores*, yet they are *universis minores*; and this being once made good, it will remaine undeniable, that *salus Populi* is *suprema Lex:* and that *bonum Publicum* is that which must give Law, and check to all pretences, or disputes of Princes whatsoever.

To make appear thus much, let us begin with the *origo* or first production of Civill Authority.

1 The Royalists take a great deal of superfluous pains, and quote many texts of Scripture to prove *that all powers are from God: that Kings are anointed by God: and that they are to be obeyed as the vicegerents of God.* If we did oppose or denie these clear Truths, no fraud were to be suspected in those that alledge them: but when we do expresse no kind of dissent from them herein, and when they have too generall a sense, as our dispute now runs, we must conclude that there is some secret fraud wrapped up, and clouded under the very generality of these asseverations. For tis not by us questioned whether powers are from God or no; but whether they are so extraordinarily from God, as that they have no dependence upon humane consent. Neither do we raise any doubt, whether or no Kings are anointed by God; but whether that unction makes them boundlesse, and their Subjects remedilesse or no, in all cases whatsoever. Neither do we dispute whether Monarchs are Gods deputies, or no, and so to be observed; but whether limited Monarchs, and other conditionate, mixed Potentates may not chalenge the same priviledge.

ledge. To ſhew then more Ingenuity towards our Antagoniſts, we will be more clear in dividing, and diſtinguiſhing, and we will decline generall expreſſions, as often as juſt occaſion ſhall require.

In the firſt place therefore we deſire to take notice that ἐξουσία, or *Poteſtas* is ſometimes taken for order, ſometimes for juriſdiction: and theſe termes alwayes are not to be confuſedly uſed. If *Adam* had not ſinned in Paradiſe, order had been ſufficient alone without any proper juriſdiction: it may well be ſuppoſed, that government, truly ſo called, had been no more neceſſary amongſt men on earth, then it is now in Heaven amongſt Angels. Government is in truth that diſcipline or method which we exerciſe in promoting, inabling, rewarding perſons of good deſert in the State, and whereby we prevent, ſuppreſſe, puniſh ſuch as are contrarily affected. And as government has Laws to guide its proceedings, ſo it is armed, with power and commiſſion for putting thoſe Laws in execution. Its plain therefore where there is no ſuppoſition of ſin, order will be prevalent enough without formall juriſdiction: for as there needs no additionall rules, beſides thoſe which creation imprinted, ſo there needs no additionall power to attend thoſe Rules. If we look up to Heaven, we ſee that preheminence which one Angel has above another is farre different from that command which Princes obtain here on earth over their vaſſals: we apprehend it as an excellence, that pertakes of more honour, then power, and that power which it has appertaining is rather phyſicall then politicall. If we deſcend alſo to ſurvey hell, we ſhall find ſome order obſerved there too, but no proper government uſed; for as Law is uſeleſſe where there is no ſin, ſo it is alſo improper or impoſſible where there is nothing but ſin. Wherefore ſomething of primitive order is retained below amongſt the damned legions for the conſervation of their infernall kingdome, but there is little reſemblance of our policy in that curſed combination. We may then acknowledge that order is of a ſublime and celeſtiall extraction, ſuch as nature in its greateſt purity did own; but ſubjection, or rather ſervile ſubjection, ſuch as attends humane policy amongſt us, derives not it ſelf from Nature, unleſſe we mean corrupted nature. Beſides in order there is nothing defective, nothing exceſſive, it is ſo univerſally neceſſary, and purely good that it has a being amongſt irrationall creatures,

and not onely States, but even Towns, Villages, houſes depend upon it, and as it was exiſtent before ſin, ſo it muſt continue after ſin; but government, as it had no being without ſin, nor has no being but amongſt ſinfull men, ſo even amongſt men it is not without its defects and inconveniences. We muſt not expect more then a mixture of good and evill in it, and if we will refuſe the burden of it, we muſt withall deny the benefit of it. *Nulla lex ſatis commoda eſt* (ſaith *Cato*) *id modo quæritur ſi majori parti & in ſumma prodeſt.* Wherefore it is now ſufficiently apparent, that order does more naturally refer to God as its Author then Juriſdiction does, and that it alſo conveyes nothing in ſpeciall to Kings, inaſmuch as the benefit of it is generall, and extends to families, as well as States, and to popular States as well as Monarchies. As to government alſo we muſt in the next place obſerve three things therein very diſtinguiſhable. *The conſtitution of power in generall muſt be ſever'd from the limitation of it to this or that form; and the form alſo muſt be ſever'd from the deſignation of it to this or that perſon.* The conſtitution or ordinance of Juriſdiction we doe acknowledge to contain θεῖον τι, but this excludes not ἀνθρώπινον τι, it may be both reſpectively, and neither ſimply: and St. *Peter* ſeems to affirm as much of the humanitie, as St. *Paul* does of the divinitie of the conſtitution.

In Matrimony there is ſomething divine (the Papiſt makes it ſacramentall beyond royall inauguration) but is this any ground to infer that there is no humane conſent or concurrence in it? does the divine inſtitution of marriage take away freedome of choice before, or conclude either party under an abſolute degree of ſubjection after the ſolemnization? is there not in conjugall Juriſdiction (notwithſtanding the divine eſtabliſhment of it) a ſtrange kind of mixture, and coordination, and may not the Spouſe plead that divine right as much for a ſweet equality, as the husband does for a rigorous inequalitie?

Inferior matrona ſuo ſit blanda marito,
Non aliter fuerint fœmina, virq; pares.

There may be a parity even in the diſparity of the matrimoniall bond, and theſe two contraries are ſo farre from being made contrary by any plea of divine inſtitution, that nothing elſe could reconcile

concile them; And if men, for whoſe ſakes women were created, ſhall not lay hold upon the divine right of wedlock, to the diſadvantage of women: much leſſe ſhall Princes who were created for the peoples ſake, chalenge any thing from the ſanctity of their offices, that may derogate from the people. Beſides even government it ſelf in the very conſtitution of it is ſo farre from being injoyned as divine upon any perſons (not before ingaged by their own, or their Anceſtors conſent) or from being neceſſitated by any precept, or preſident in Scripture, that we rather ſee an inſtance of the contrary in the ſtory of *Lot* and *Abraham*. Certainly there was in nature ſome majority or precedence due either from *Lot* to *Abraham*, or from *Abraham* to *Lot*, (for the rules of order are no wayes failing) and yet we ſee this is no ſufficient inforcement to ſubject either of theſe Patriarks to the others juriſdiction. When diſcords aroſe amongſt their ſervants, they might have been qualified and repreſſed by a friendly aſſociation, and either one or both joyntly or by courſe might have had the oyer, and terminer thereof. Yet ſo it was, that they rather reſolved upon a diſſociation, and this could not but have been a great ſin againſt the divine right of Government, if any ſuch had been originally imprinted in Nature, or delivered by command from God, as of more value then common liberty. Tis true it proved afterwards fatall to *Lot*, that he did diſjoyne from *Abraham*, and it had been farre more politick and advantagious for both of them perhaps, if they had incorporated one with another: but the queſtion is not whether it was prejudiciall, or no, to eſteeme the priviledge of an Independent liberty before the many other fruits and advantages of a well framed principalitie: but whether it was ſin againſt God, or no, and a tranſgreſſion againſt the conſtitution of power, to purſue that which was moſt pleaſing, before that which was likely to prove more commodious. I conceive that freedome being in it ſelf good, and acceptable to Nature, was preferred before Government, which was alſo good, and more eſpecially commendable, but God had left the choice indifferent, and arbitrarie, and therefore there was no ſcandall or treſpaſſe in the choice. I ſpeak not this to unſettle any form of Government already founded, and compoſed, nor againſt the conſtitution it ſelf, or intention of framing aſſociations: tis ſufficient for my purpoſe,

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if it be proved, that before such foundation or composition every man be left free, and not abridged of his own consent, or forced by any Law of God to depart from his freedome, and I am sure this example of *Abraham*, and *Lot* does evince thus much, unlesse we think good to charge them both as enemies to the politick constitution of power, and will needs introduce a perpetuall yoke of authority upon all men whatsoever, whether pre-obliged by consent or not, which seems to me very uncharitable. But enough of this. I passe now from the constitution it self, to the determination of power to such a line, or such a person, electively, or hereditarily: and this also is an act wherein we do not deny Gods ordinary interposition, we onely deny, that the peoples freedome of choice, or consent is at all drowned thereby.

Gods chusing of *Saul* particularly, is no generall denyall of humane choice; we may rather suppose that that coronation was an act of divine providence, then of any speciall command. For as God remitted the matter to the decision of Lots, so it is undoubted that he guided the event of those lots, as gently, as he guides all other second causes, without violenting the nature of them. So the Scepter of Judah though it was prophetically intayled upon *Davids* posterity, yet the individuall person or line of that race was not alwayes specified by God.

The order of primogeniture was broken in *Solomon*, and there was no certain rule left as often as that order was to be altred, or inverted, to whose choice or discretion it should be left. After the Captivity there was also interruption in the lineall course of dissent, and by whom the successive right was then convayed, is uncertain, but in probabilitie either the people, or some other humane hand was the pipe of that conveyance.

We shall not need to prosecute this further, our Adversaries do grant us, that the election of Princes is not now so extraordinarie, and divine as it was amongst the Jews, and the Scripture it self is clear, that even those Jewish Princes which God pointed out by Lots, or anointed by his Prophets were yet establisht, and invested by the people. And therefore in the first delivery of the Law by *Moses*, before any king was resolved upon by the people, God prescribed to them in this manner: *Quando statues Regem super te, &c.* when you

you ſhall think fit to ſet or erect a King over you, you ſhall chuſe that man whom I ſhall deſigne. And the ſame word *ſtatuere* is divers times elſewhere uſed in Scripture, ſo that though God did never interpoſe in any other Nation ſo eminently about the making of Kings, as in Judea, yet even there he did commend the perſon, the people did chuſe; or if he did chuſe, the people did *ſtatuere*, *viz.* give force and ſanction to the ſame.

It remains now that we try what there is of God, and what of man in the limitations, or mixtures of authority. Tis a true and old maxime in Law, *Qui jus ſuum alienat, poteſt id jus pactis imminuere.* And hereupon *Grotius* takes a good difference betwixt *imperium* and *imperii habendi modum*, and as for the manner or qualification of rule, that he accounts *ſo meerly humane*, that if the King ſeek to alter it, he may be (as he acknowledges) *oppoſed by the people:* nay he proceeds further, and cites *Barclayes* authority, who was the violenteſt aſſertor of abſolute Monarchy that ever wrote) to prove *that Kings may have but a part in the ſupremacy of power, and where they have but ſuch a partiall mixt intereſt they may not onely be reſiſted, but alſo depoſed for forfeiture in caſe they invade the other intereſt.* The ſame Author alſo affirms, *That States may condition with Kings to have a power of reſiſting, and that the ſame is a good condition, though the Royalty be limited by no other.* If this be ſo, ſurely the founding or new erecting of authorities at firſt, and the circumſcribing the ſame after by conſent, is ſo farre from being Gods ſole immediate act, that it is, as far as any act can be mans proper and intire act: for except we allow that God has left it indifferent to man to form government as he thinks moſt for his behoof, we muſt needs condemne all forms except one, as unlawfull: and if we grant indifference tis all one, as if we left it to ſecond cauſes. But ſoft *to call Kings* (ſaies one loud Royaliſt) *derivatives of the people, it is to diſgrace them, and to make them the baſeſt extracts of the baſeſt of rationall creatures, the Commmunity. If we fix an underived Majeſtie in the community as in it firſt ſeat, and receptacle (where there is not one of a thouſand an intelligent knowing man) this is (if not blaſphemy) certainly high treaſon againſt God and the King.* This is Oxford Divinitie. God reproves Kings for his anointed peoples ſake, theſe reproach the people for Kings ſakes. Theſe are the miſerable Heralds of this unnaturall warre, having mouthes as black as their hands

hands are crimſon: but let the man fall to his Arguments.

A world of reaſons (ſaies he) *may be brought from Scripture to prove that Kings are independent from all, and ſolely dependent from God. But for brevities ſake take theſe.*

1 1 *To whom can it be more proper to give the rule over men, then to him who is the onely King truly and properly of the whole world?*

Anſwer. To none more proper: there ſhall be no quarrell in this; provided you will no more except Kings then Subjects from this generall ſubjection.

2 2 *God is the immediate Author of all rule and power amongſt all his creatures above or below, why then ſhould we ſeclude him from being the immediate Author of government and empire amongſt men?*

Anſwer. We ſeclude him not. We onely queſtion whether he be ſo the immediate Author of our conſtitutions, as he is of primitive order, or whether or no he ſo extraordinarily intervene in the erecting of Governors, or limiting of governments, as to ſtrangle ſecond cauſes, and invalidate humane acts.

3 3 *Man in his innocence received dominion over the creatures immediately from God; and ſhall we deny that the moſt noble, and excellent government over men is from God, or ſay it is by humane conſtitution?*

Anſwer. God did not create ſo vaſt a diſtance betwixt man and man, as betwixt man and other irrationall creatures: and therefore there was not at firſt the ſame reaſon of ſubjection amongſt the one as the other. Yet we except nothing againſt order, or a milde ſubjection amongſt men: we onely ſay that ſuch ſervility as our Adverſaries would now fain patronize in Gods name, was never introduced by God, Nature, or any good men.

4 4 *They who exerciſe the judgement of God muſt needs have their power to judge from God; but Kings by themſelves and their Deputies exerciſe their judgement from God. Ergo.*

Anſwer. The Prince of Orange, or the Duke of Venice may as well plead thus, as the King of Spaine, or the Emperour of Germany. Beſides, according to this rule, *Quod quis per alium facit, facit per ſe:* the State may as truly ſay, it exerciſes judgement by the King, as the King may that he exerciſes judgement by his inferiour Courts. Laſtly, if this be preſſed upon ſuppoſition, that the King is Judge next under God without any dependence from the State, it

begs

begs the queſtion: if it be preſſed, only to prove, that the King ought to be ſo independent, 'tis vain, and frivolous.

5. *Kings are the Miniſters of God, not only as to their Judiciary, but as to their Executory power*, ergo, *their charge is immediately from God. They are called Gods, Angells, &c. So in the Church, Preachers are the Embaſſadors of God, and this makes their function immediately divine.* 5.

Anſw. The judiciary, and executory power flowes from the ſame ſource, this ſhall breed no diſpute: and as for all the glorious attributes of Majeſty, and irradiations of ſanctity, and divinity which the ſcripture frequently applies to Kings.

Firſt, We muſt know they are not only appropriated to Kings as they are abſolute, and ſolely ſupreame; but to all chiefe governours alſo though bounded by lawes, and reſtrained by coordinate partners.

Secondly, They are many times affixt to Kings, not *quatenus* Kings, but *quatenus* religious and juſt Kings; theſe ſacred expreſſions applyed to *Ahaz* or *Jeroboam*, doe not ſound ſo tunably, as when they point at *David* or *Joſiah*.

Thirdly, The people and flock of God ſometimes communicate in termes of the like nature, not only Prieſts and Prophets were annointed as well as Kings, but the whole nation of the Jewes was called holy, and dignified with that which the ceremony of unction ſhadowed only. Prieſts were not Kings, nor Kings Prieſts, but the children of God are both Kings and Prieſts: the ſcripture expreſſly calls them a royall Prieſthood.

Fourthly, That ſanctity, that divine grandour which is thus ſhed from above upon Princes for the peoples ſake, in the judgement of wiſemen does not ſo properly terminate it ſelf in the means as in the end.

6. *If the grace inabling Kings for their imployment be only from God, then conſequently the imployment it ſelfe*, ergo. 6.

Anſwer, if God by inſpiration did inable all Kings extraordinarily, and none other but Kings, this were of ſome force: and yet this proves not that Kings are more, or leſſe inſpired by God, as they are more or leſſe limited by man. Howſoever wee know by woefull experience that the Major part of Kings are ſo farre from being the beſt Judges, the profoundeſt Stateſmen, the moſt expert

ſoldiers, that when they ſo value themſelves they prove commonly moſt wilfull, and fatall to themſelves and others; and that they ever govern beſt, when they moſt relye upon the abilities of other good Counſellors and Miniſters.

7. 7. *Where Soveraigne power is, as in Kings there is authority and Majeſty and a ray of divine glory, but this cannot be found in the people, they cannot be the ſubject of it either jointly, or ſeverally conſidered; not ſingly, for all by nature are equall: and if not ſingly: not jointly; for all have but the contribution of ſo many individuals.*

Anſw. What ridiculous things are theſe? if Majeſty and authority accompany ſupremacy of power, then it is reſiding at *Geneva* aſwell, as at *Conſtantinople*; or elſe we muſt take it for granted that there is no ſupremacy of power, but in Monarchies. All men will explode this: but ſuppoſe the Crowne eſcheated in a Monarchy, will you ſay becauſe all have but the contribution of ſo many individuals, therefore there is no more vertue in the conſent of all, then there is in the vote of one? muſt the wheeles of government never move againe except ſome miraculous ordinance from heaven come to turne, and actuate them? muſt ſuch a fond dreame as this confound us in an eternall night of Anarchy, and forbid us to wind up our weights again? how poore a fallacy is this? you cannot ſubject me, nor I you, nor one hundred of us one hundred of other men but by conſent, it follows therefore that all of us joyntly conſenting cannot ſubject our ſelvs to ſuch a law, ſuch a Prince ſuch a condition.

8. 8. Poteſtas vitæ & necis, *is only his who only gives life:* ergo, *Kings which only have this, can only derive this from God.*

Anſw. This deſtroyes all government but Monarchicall, this denies all Ariſtocraticall or Democraticall States to bee capable of doing juſtice or proceeding againſt delinquents, what can be more erroneous or pernitious? the power of life and death in a legall ſence is committed to man by God, and not to Kings only. For if the Crowne of England were eſcheated, the community even before a new reſtauration of governmet, during the *inter-regnum*, might joyne in putting to death murderers and capitall offenders, and perhaps this it was which *Cain* ſtood in feare of. Nay it may be thought *ex officio humani generis*, they ought to proſecute all the common diſturbers of mankind. And if this without ſome orderly

derly tribunall were not lawfull, or possible to bee done, yet what right or power is there wanting in the people to erect such a Tribunall? *Grotius* tells us, *that as man is the generall subject of the visive faculty, though the eye of man be its particular seat, so the whole body politick is the generall subject of authority, though it bee more intimately contracted sometimes into such a Chaire, such a Bench, such an Assembly: and if it be so after government setled, it is much more so before.*

9. *The actions of Kings aswell of mercy, as justice, are owned by God, and therefore when God blesses a people, hee sends good Kings; when he scourges them, he sends evil Kings.* 9.

Answer. If God be said to send evill Kings, and to harden them for our punishment in the same manner, as he sends good Kings &c. we must acknowledge the hand of God in these things, but not as over-ruling secondary causes: when the lot is cast into the lap, the event is from the Lord, but it does not alwayes so fall out from the immediate sole causality of God, so as the second cause is forced thereby, or interrupted in its ordinary operation. Wherefore if the immediate hand of God does not violent such hidden contingent effects, sure it is more gentle to more rationall and free causes: and where the effect is evill, we must not make it too causall.

10. *God is stiled a King and represented on a Throne, therefore let us not make him a derivative of the people also.* 10.

Answer. Demand what security you please for this, and we will give it.

11. *Kings, Priests, Prophets were anointed, but no fourth thing: and since Priests and Prophets are sacred by immediate constitution, why not Kings?* 11.

Answer. Wee have instanced in a fourth thing, upon which the unction of God hath been powred, if not visibly yet spiritually, if not in the externall ceremony, yet in the internall efficacy. We do not deny also but Kings are sacred by immediate constitution, as well as Priests: but we deny that Kings only, or absolute Kings only excluding other conditionate Princes, and Rulers are thus sacred; and as for Priests, they are not so properly a power as a function: neither doe I perfectly understand how farre they disclaime all humane dependence in their functions, nor is the dispute thereof any way pertinent in this case.

12. *Disobedience to Princes is taken as disobedience to God, and therefore God sayes to* Moses *and* Aaron, *they murmure not against you, but me.*

Answ. Curſed for ever bee that doctrine that countenances diſobedience to Magiſtrates, much more ſuch diſobedience againſt ſuch Magiſtrates in ſuch things, as that was which God ſo ſeverely chaſtiſed in the Iſraelites: our diſpute at this preſent is not about obedience, but the meaſure of obedience; for if the Kings will be the ſole rule thereof, wee cannot diſobey God in obeying the King, but this we know is falſe: and if any other rule be either in the law of God or man, to that we will conforme in our actions, and to that we ought to be confin'd in our diſputes.

13. 13. *The laſt reſult is, Prieſts and Kings have their offices if not perſonall deſignations, immediately and ſolely from Gods donation, and both (as to their perſons and functions) being lawfully inveſted with ſacred power, are inviolable.*

Answ. We need not doubt, but this great oſtentatious undertaker, and this wide, gaping promiſſor, was ſome Cathedraliſt within orders, he does ſo ſhuffle Prieſts and Princes together. He will needs have Princes as inviolable as Prieſts, but hee could wiſh much rather, I believe, that Prieſts were as unpuniſhable as Princes. He doth admit Princes to have their offices as immediately from God as Prieſts, but then his intent is that Prieſts ſhall claime a power too as independent as Princes, *Caeus fert Claudum, &c.* If Kings will bee but as willing to carry Biſhops as they are to guide Kings, 'tis no great matter whether any body elſe have legs to walk, or eyes to ſee. But what if we grant Miniſters to have perſons as inviolable as Magiſtrates, and Magiſtrates offices as ſacred as Miniſters: what doth this prove againſt limited Monarchy, how doth this deveſt the people of God of all right and liberty?

Thus we ſee he that anſwers one argument, anſwers all: for wee doe not deny Gods hand in the crowning of Princes, we know the ſcripture is expreſſe in it, and wee know there is a neceſſity of it, as there is in all other human things; and yet this is al they can ſay for themſelves. All that we wonder at is, that ſince the ſcripture doth every where as expreſly alſo mention the hand of man in making and chuſing of Kings, and ſince there is no more aſcribed to God for inthroning them then is for dethroning: That our adverſaries will take

take no notice at all of the one, as well as of the other. It is plain in *Iob* 12. 18. that God looſeth the bond of Kings, and girdeth their loynes with a girdle: and many other proofes may bee brought, that God giveth and taketh away Scepters. Wherefore if *Jeroboam* an uſurper and ſeducer of the people doe as truly hold his Crowne from God, as *Rehoboam*, if *Nebuchadnezar* may as juſtly require ſubjection from the Jews under the name of Gods Vicegerents, as *Joſiah*; if *Cyrus* be as truly inveſted from heaven as *Judas Machabeus*; if *Rich.* the third have a perſon and office as ſacred, and inviolable by divine right, as his Nephew *Edward* the fifth whom he treacherouſly murdered: and if we cannot affirme that God is a more active or efficacious cauſe, or more overaweth, and wreſteth inferiour agents in the one, then the other, it behoves us to be as cautious how we impute to God, that which is mans, as how we impute to man, that which is Gods.

Kings raigne by God, 'tis confeſt: but (Kings) there is uſed indefinitely for all ſupreame Commanders, as well limited as unlimited, as well thoſe which have a greater, as thoſe which have a lower ſtile then Kings, as well uſurpers and ſuch as aſcend by violent meanes and uniuſt titles, as lawfull Princes that enter by a faire deſcent and election: and ſo likewiſe the word (by) is taken indiſtinctly, it may as well ſignifie that efficacy of Gods hand which is ordinary, and ſtands with the freedome of naturall cauſes, as that which is extraordinary, and excludes any humane concurrent cauſality: and we have given reaſon, why it ſhould intimate the firſt but there is no reaſon given why it ſhould intend the ſecond. But the Royaliſts will now object, *that if power doe flow from a humane naturall principle (rather then a divine and ſupernaturall one) yet ſtill this proves not that publick conſent is that only principle.* Nimrod *was a greater hunter of men, and doubtleſſe that Empire which he atcheeved, was rather by force then conſent; and tis apparent that many other Princes have effected that by their owne toyles, which they never could have done by meer merit or morall inducements.*

'Tis not to be imagined that *Nimrod* or any other by meer perſonall puiſſance without the adherence of ſome conſiderable party, could ſubject nations, or lay the foundations of a ſpreading Empire: neither was any Conqueſt ever yet accompliſht without ſome ſub-

sequent consent in the party conquered, as well as precedent combination in the party conquering, or concurring in the act of Conquest.

Normandy and *England* were united by armes, but not meerly by armes, for the acquisition of *England* was compast at first by the voluntary aydes of the *Normans*, and upheld afterwards by the voluntary compliance of the Englisth.

The maintaining of dominion is altogether as difficult as the purchase, and commonly is of the same nature: if nothing else but the sword had placed *William* in the Chair, nothing else but the sword perpetually unsheathed could have secured him & his posterity therin, but it was not *Normandy* that was ingaged against *England*, it was *William* that was ingaged against *Heralt*, no sooner therefore was that personall dispute ended, but *William* was as well satisfied with the translation of *Heralts* right, as *England* was willing to transferre the same upon him. Without some rightfull claime *William* had been a Robber, not a Victor, and without the consent of this nation either declaring or making that claime rightfull, the robbery would have lasted for ever, and yet no title had ever accrued thereby. Wherefore if there must be a right of necessity to make a difference betwixt robbery, and purchase; and if that right can never bee justly determined by force without consent either precedent, subsequent, or both: nor no Prince was ever yet found so impious or foolish as to decline the same: the plea of Conquest is but a weak absurd plea, for (as it is well observed) by a learned Gentleman, *Conquest may be a good meane, or it may be a remote impulsive cause of royalty, but an immediate formall cause it cannot be, neither can Gods ordinance bee conveyed, or a people in conscience ingaged by any other meanes then consent of the people, either by themselves, or their Ancestors.* Our adversaries to involve us in a base thraldome boast of three Conquests in this Iland, and yet neither of them all was just, or totall; or meerly forcible, without consent preceding, or following. 'Tis a law amongst swordmen (and it hath no other sanction) *Arma tenenti, omnia dat, qui justa negat.* Try us by this law; and what could either the *Saxon*, *Dane*, or *Norman* pretend against this whole nation? if the Crowne was unduly withheld, that could beget but a particular quarrell betwixt the usurper here and him that was pretender, on the

the other ſide. This was no Nationall injury, and yet even no ſuch manifeſt deſſeiſin can be proved againſt us.

Beſides, if the whole Nation had tranſgreſſed, yet the whole Nation was never wholly ſubdued, nor ſcarce any part of it altered by conqueſt, all our conquerours themſelves did rather looſe themſelves, and their cuſtomes, and their Laws to us, then aſſimilate us to themſelves. *Anglia omnibus Regum & Nationum temporibus iiſdem legibus, & conſuetudinibus quibus nunc regitur continuò regebatur:* we know by what an authenticall hand this was written. War-like incurſions of foraine Armies prevail no more uſually upon great States, then the influxes of rivers do upon the ocean, ſo farre they are from making the Maine freſher, that they themſelves become brackiſh in attempting it. We ſee the *Norman* here being in the full pride of his great victory, was in danger to have received a fatall check from the Inhabitants of Kent (one County of this Realme) had he not prudently betaken himſelf to a milde way of treatie, and compoſition. And if the conquered remain in ſuch condition, what juſtice is that, which ingulphs not onely them but the conquering Nations alſo, and their poſterities in the ſame vaſſalage under one inſulting Lord? The natives here now are not diſtinguiſhable, nor ever were in point of freedome from thoſe which entred by force amongſt them; and ſhall we think, that the ſame hand which wreſted away our liberty in favour of one man, would do it with expence of its own alſo?

To uſe more words in this pretence of violent acquiſition, were to attribute too much to it, if you relye upon any agreement and condeſcenſion of this Nation, produce the ſame, and the true form thereof, and that ſhall purchaſe you a good title; if you relye upon meer force, the continuation thereof to this day ought not to conclude us in a plea of this nature. Tis no reaſon we ſhould be now remedileſſely oppreſt, becauſe our Anceſtors could not defend themſelves againſt your oppreſſion.

Let us come now to another objection: for the Royaliſts will ſtill ſay, *If the people be the true efficient, primary cauſe of ſoveraignty, yet the party conſtituting is not alwayes better then the conſtituted. Still the rule is deniable, Quicquid efficit tale eſt magis tale.* For the better ventilation of this truth, we ſhall diſtinguiſh betwixt natural and moral cauſes; for

for in morall causes this rule does not so constantly hold, as in naturall. You will say, *that in naturall things, it does not always hold; for a spark may raise farre greater flames then it self; and wine may intoxicate or work that in another, which it has not in it self.*

I answer. The spark that inflames other combustible stuffe, and so dilates it self into a greater flame, works not as a cause onely, but as an occasion also; and we shall more truly imagine that it is multiplied, and that it gathers new strength from other concauses, then that it spends it self, or effects something more vigorous, and perfect then it self: So wine, it makes not drunk, as it is it self drunk; because drunkennesse proceeds not from wine immediately, but from other neerer causes. Wine heats the veines, annoyes the stomack with humors, and the brain with fumes, and these are the immediate causes of drunkennesse; the proper work of wine is heat, and so it ever has a heat as intense in it self, as that which it self causes elsewhere, and without the accession of other joynt causes, it cannot produce a greater degree of heat, in another thing then it reserves in it self. As to ethicall causes (if they may be truly called efficients) tis confest, forasmuch as they work voluntarily and freely, they may in their influences depart with more, or lesse vigor as they please.

Authoritie, laud, honour, &c. may be passed either absolutely, or conditionally, and the conditions may be more or lesse restraining as the agreement provides, according to the intent of the grantor, expressed by instrument, or otherwise. In our case then we are to inquire whether supreme signiory, or command be to be reputed amongst naturall or morall things, and I conceive it is of a mixt nature, proceeding from principles partly ethicall, and partly naturall. The honour and splendor of Monarchs (two main ingredients of dominion) are after a physicall manner derived, the more glorious and noble the people is, the more glorious and noble the chief of the people is; and this honour and glory is such as flows from the people without wasting it self, in the act of flowing. In the like manner puissance, and force, it has a naturall production from the people (and this is another principall ingredient of Empire) the more strength there is in such or such a Nation, the more strong is he who commands that Nation: and yet that puissance which

which by perpetuall conſent paſſes into the ſupreme Commander, does not ſo paſſe from the people, but that it retains its ancient ſite, and ſubject of inherence.

Wherefore Honor and Power though they be ſo great requiſites in the compoſition of Princes, yet we ſee they have a naturall efflux; and as Honor is in *Honorante* not *in Honorato*, ſo *Poteſtas* is *in Poteſtante* (as I may uſe the word) not *in Poteſtato*. The woman is coruſcant by the rayes of her husband, borrowing reſplendence like the Moon from the Suns aſpect, without loſſe or diminution to the fountain and cauſe of that coruſcance. In the ſame manner alſo Princes derive honour and power from their Subjects, yet drain not at all the ſcource which derives it: *Tanti eſt rex, quanti eſt regnum*: As the people increaſes, or impairs, ſo does the Prince; and we muſt not expect the contrary. If then a Prince be in value or excellence ſuperiour to that community from whence all his power and honour deduces it ſelf (which can find but hard entertainment in our thoughts) yet tis not becauſe the fountain has evacuated it ſelf in that deduction; for we ſee the effect (even after its production, for I ſpeak not of its former entity) is ſuch here, that it has *Ariſtotles* condition in it; it does *utrique ineſſe*, it has a reſidence in both parties, it inveſts the grantee without deveſting the grantor. To do the office of a Protector, is the moſt proper, and therefore the moſt excellent, and incommunicable prerogative of a King, yet even that power by which he is made capable of protecting, iſſues ſolely from the adherence, conſent, and unity of the people; and ſo iſſues, as that the people ſuffer no exhauſtion in the buſines. Nevertheleſſe, it muſt be granted, there is ſomething of royalty which ſprings from a morall principle, but that is the Commiſſion, or indeed that form of qualification by which one Prince differs from another in extent of Prerogative, and in reſpect of this principle the people does more or leſſe ſtraiten it ſelf in point of liberty.

This of all other rayes of Majeſtie is moſt immediately ſtreaming from the conſent of the people; but if a Nation by ſolemne oath, or otherwiſe has ingaged it ſelf to ſubmit to the will of a Prince abſolutely, affirmatively reſerving no priviledges, but tacitly renouncing all immunities except onely at diſcretion, I ſhall not ſeek to deſtroy ſuch agreements. I onely ſay ſuch agreements are not the

effects of Nature, and tis not easie to imagine how right reason should ever mingle with such a morall principle, as gave being to such an agreement, especially when it renders the Prince, who for honour and power has his perpetuall dependence upon the people, yet more honourable and powerfull in reputation of others then the people, and that by the expresse grant of the people.

Howsoever (not to make this any part of our quarrell) let such acts of communities be demonstrable positive, and unquestionable, as particular convayances of lands, &c. use to be, and it shall not be denyed, but the effect in these politicall affairs may be more such, then that impoverisht cause, which emptied it self to make it such. Yet sure such acts are very rare, prescription is the great plea of Princes, and they themselves must be Judges of that plea, the Grand Signior himself has nothing but prescription to damne his Subjects (if they be to be accounted Subjects) to the base villenage of arbitrary rule.

But you will say to such causes, as remain more vertuous then their effects, there is another condition also requisite, they must not onely *utrique inesse*, but they must admit of degrees also, that the effect may be lesse then the cause, as the water heated is lesse hot then the fire. And you will say, *if the peoples power be not totally involved, then they remain still, as well superior to the Parliament as to the King. And if it be, then why not inferior to the King, as well as to the Parliament?* As for degrees, there is nothing more known and assented to by all: all men must take notice, that Prerogatives of Princes differ almost in all Countreys; and since this difference flows from different commissions, which Princes do not rightly grant to themselves, it cannot but issue from the people, and from an act of the people which is graduall in it self.

For the other objection, we say tis not rightly supposed that the people and the Parliament are severall in this case: for the Parliament is indeed nothing else, but the very people it self artificially congregated, or reduced by an orderly election, and representation, into such a Senate, or proportionable body. Tis true, in my understanding, the Parliament differs many wayes from the rude bulk of the universality, but in power, in honour, in majestie, in commission, it ought not at all to be divided, or accounted different as to any

any legall purpoſe. And thus it is not with the King, the King does not repreſent the people, but onely in ſuch and ſuch caſes: *viz.* in pleas of a common nature betwixt Subject and Subject. Wherein he can have no particular ends; and at ſuch or ſuch times, *viz.* when there is not a more full and neer repreſentation by the Parliament. And hereupon the ſupreme reaſon or Judicature of this State, from whence no appeal lies, is placed in that repreſentative convention, which either can have no intereſts different from the people repreſented, or at leaſt very few, and thoſe not conſiderable: but I ſhall have occaſion to be more large hereafter upon this, and therefore I now ſupерſede.

2 I come now to the finall cauſe of government. The Scripture is very pregnant, and ſatisfying; that the proper end of government was the good of the governed: and that the people was ſubjected to dominion for their happineſſe, and tranquillity; and not that the Prince was elevated for his pomp, or magnificence. As for the Prince, the Law of God is moſt expreſſe in that, he is not to make his advancement any ground of lifting up his heart above his brethren: he is injoyned to that comportment which ſuits with a brother, not a Lord: and to be ſo farre from lifting up his hand inſultingly, as not to be inflated in his thoughts vain-gloriouſly. And for the people, they are called Gods flock, and the ſheep of his paſture; and therefore it is ſaid in the 78. *Pſalme*, that God choſe *David* to feed his people. Our adverſaries therefore though they ſeldome ſpeak of the people but under the notion of the ruder multitude, and ſeldome name the multitude, but with termes of deriſion, yet they will not wholly diſavow this, and therefore they would fain divide with us, and have a co-ordination of ends in the buſineſſe. They will acknowledge that power was ordained, *ut nobis bene ſit*, according to *Jeremy*; and *ut tranquillam & quietam vitam deganmus cum omni pietate, & ſanctitate, atque etiam extrema honeſtate*; according to *Timothy*: and τοῦ εὖ ζῆν, according to St. *Paul*: and *pro bono publico*, according to *Ariſtotle*, and all ſound Philoſophy: But ſtill they ſay, *This end, is not the ſole end, the power and honour of the Governor is an end co-ordinate withall, or at leaſt not meerly ſubordinate.* This we can by no means admit, though by the word *Governor* be intended, the beſt regulated Governor that can be; much leſſe if an

arbitrary governor, or one that abuſes his power be here underſtood.

For though government be a neceſſary *medium* for the preſervation of man conſidered in a lapſed condition, yet this or that form of government, is not alwayes ſo much as a *medium*: arbitrary juriſdiction is ſo farre ſometimes from being a bleſſing, that it is a very peſt to the people of God. And if it arrive not at the efficacy of a true *medium*, how can we imagine it an end in any reſpect whatſoever? Nevertheleſſe if there were not fraud in Royaliſts, when they ſpeak of the power, and honour of Princes generally, if they did not under thoſe termes comprehend that arrogant tumor or grandour of mind which is incompatible with brotherly demeanour, and ſo is preciſely forbidden by God, we ſhould not ſo curiouſly diſtinguiſh at this preſent betwixt a mean, and a ſole or meer mean. But now it behoves us to be very ſtrict, and therefore to uſe the words of *Cicero* upon this, *Eo referenda ſunt omnia, iis qui præſunt aliis, ut ei qui erunt eorum in imperio ſint quam beatiſſimi.* This ſeems a hard ſaying to our Royaliſts, muſt Princes do nothing at all but in order to publick good, and are they bound to promote ſuch as live under their command to all poſſible good, *ut ſint quam beatiſſimi?* This goes very farre; this makes the power, honour, of ſupreme Rulers ſo meerly ſubſervient, and ſubordinate to the publick good, that to compaſſe that at any time, nay or to adde any ſcruple of weight unto the ſame, it is bound wholly to poſtpone or deny it ſelf. *Vt gubernatori curſus ſecundus, medico ſalus, imperatori victoria: ſic moderatori reipub. beata civium vita propoſita eſt:* So in another place ſayes the ſame Author, and this we may ſuppoſe he learn'd not onely out of the diſcourſes of *Ariſtotle*, and *Plato*, as he was a Phyloſopher, but out of his State practiſe, as he was a noble Senator and Magiſtrate in *Rome*. We read of multitudes of heathens, both *Greeks* and *Romans* who had great commands, yet lived and died very poore, either by neglecting their own particular affairs, or by ſpending their own means upon the publick. And therefore as *Salvian* ſaies of ſome of them to our ſhame, *Illi pauperes Magiſtratus opulentam rempub. habebant, nunc autem dives poteſtas pauperem facit eſſe rempub.*

Adrian the Emperour did often ſay both to the people, and in the Senate of *Rome*, *Ita ſe rempub. geſturum ut ſciret populi rem eſſe, non ſuam.*

And

and for this cauſe ſome Princes have deſerted their thrones, others have bitterly complained againſt the perpetuall miſeries of Soveraignty, as being ſufficiently informed that to execute the imperiall office duly, was nothing elſe but to dye to themſelves, and to live only to other men. This does abſolutely deſtroy that opinion, which places the good of Kings in any rivalty with the good of States. For if *Antonius Pius* could truly ſay, *Poſtquam ad imperium tranſcivimus, etiam quæ prius habuimus perdidimus*; how farre diſtant are they from truth which makes Kings gainers, and ſubjects looſers by their inthronization? M. *Anton. Phil.* having by law, the ſole, intire diſpoſition of the publick Treaſure, yet upon his expedition into *Scythia*, would not make uſe of the ſame without the Senates conſent, but profeſſed openly, *Eam pecuniam, cæteraq; omnia eſſe Senatus Populiſque Rom. nos enim uſque adeo nihil habemus proprium, ut etiam veſtras habitemus ædes.* How diametrically oppoſite is this to that which our State-Theologues doe now buzze into the Kings eares? They inſtead of giving the ſubjects a juſt and compleat propriety in the King, reſigne the ſubject and all that he poſſeſſes to the meer diſcretion of the King, inſtead of reſtraining Princes where the lawes let them looſe, they let looſe Princes where the law reſtraines them. But our Royaliſts will ſay, this is to make the condition of a King miſerable, and more abject then a private mans condition. For anſwer to this I muſt a little anatomize the State of a Prince.

For a Prince is either wiſe, and truly underſtands the end of his promotion, or not; if he be not wiſe, then he is like a ſottiſh priſoner loaden and bound with golden fetters, and yet is not ſo much perplexed with the weight, as inammor'd with the price of them. Then does he enter upon Empire, as if he went only *ad arcam meſſem*, as *Stratocles*, and *Dramocleides* had uſe to make their boaſting in merriment; but theſe vain thoughts ſerve onely to expoſe him to the traines of Flatterers, and Court-Harpyes, till having impoveriſht thouſands to inrich ſome few, and gained the diſaffection of good men to be abuſed by villaines, he never reads his errour till it comes preſented to his eye in the black characters of ruine. The ſame wholeſome advertiſement commonly which firſt encounters him (as that hand-writing did which appear'd to *Belſhazzar* in his

drunken revells) lets him understand withall, that all repentance will be too late. If the Prince be wise, then does he sit amongst all his sumptuous dishes like *Damocles*, owing his life perpetually to the strength of one horse haire: and knowing that nothing else saves his head from the swords point: then must his Diadem seem to him as contemptible, or combersome as *Seleucus* his did, who confidently affirmed that no man would stoop to take it from the ground, to whom it was so perfectly knowne as it was to him. And it was no wild, but a very considerate interpellation of some other sad Prince, who being to put on the Crowne upon his owne head amongst all the triumphant attendants of that solemnity could not but break out into this passion. O thou deceitfull ornament, farre more honourable then happy; what man would stretch forth his hand to take thee out of the dust, if he did first look into the hollow of thy circle, and seriously behold the throngs of dangers, and miseries that are there lodged?

Secondly, A Prince is either good, and applies himselfe to compasse the end of his inauguration or not, if hee bee not good, then does he under the Majesticall robes of a God, act the execrable part of a Devill, then does he imploy all those meanes and helps which were committed to him for saving purposes to the destruction of Gods people, and to the heaping up of such vengeance to himselfe, as scarce any private man hath ability to merit. How happy had it bin for *Tiberius*, for *Nero*, and for a hundred more, if they had wanted the fatall baites of royalty to deprave them, or the great advantages of power to satisfie them in deeds of lust, and cruelty? *Neroes* beginning, his *quinquenium* shewes us what his disposition was as a meer man; but the latter part of his tragicall raign shewes us what the common frailty of man is being overcharged with unbounded seigniory. Amongst other things which made *Caius* appeare a monster and not a man, *Suetonius* in the first place reckons up his ayry titles of pious most great, and most good &c. his impiety made him so audacious as to prophane these sacred stiles, and these, sacred stiles made his impiety the more black, and detestable. If the Prince be good, then as *Seneca* saies, *Omnium domus unius Principis vigilia defendit, omnium otium illius labor, omnium delitias illius industria, omnium vacationem illius occupatio.* And in the same Chapter hee further

ther addes, *Ex quo se Cæsar orbi terrarum dedicavit, sibi eripuit, & siderum modo, quæ irrequieta semper cursus suos explicant, nunquam illi licet nec subsistere nec quicquam sunm facere.* 'Tis true of private men (as *Cicero* rightly obserues) *ut quisque maximè ad sunm commodum refert quicunque agit, ita minimè est vir bonus.* But this is much more true of publick persons, whom God and man have by more speciall obligations, confined to publick affaires only, and for that purpose raised above their own former narrow orbe. O that our Courtiers at Oxford would admit of such politicks, and blush to publish any directly contrary? then would these raging storms be soon allayed. But alas, amongst us, when the great Counsell desires that the Kings children may not be disposed of in marriage without publick privity, and consent, all our peace and religion (being nearly concerned therein) it is answered with confidence, *that private men are more free then so.* So when the election, or nomination of Judges, Commanders, and Counsellors of State is requested, 'tis answered, *that this is to mancipate the Crowne, and to subject the King to more exactnesse in high important affaires then common persons are in their lower interests.* Till *Machiavells* dayes, such answers never durst approach the light, but now Princes have learnt a new lesson; *now they are not to look upon the people as Gods inheritance, or as the efficient, and finall causes of Empire, but as wretches created for servility, as mutinous vassalls, whose safety, liberty, and prosperity is by all meanes to be opposed, and abhorred, as that which of all things in the world is the most irreconcileably adverse to Monarchy.* *Salust* a heathen complaines of his times, that instead of the ancient Roman vertues, they did entertain luxury and covetousnesse *publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam.* That which he complained of as the symptome of a declining State, we Christians cry up as a rare *arcanum imperii: to make the Court rich, and keep the countrey poor as in France, is held the most subtile art of establishing a Prince.* *Trajan* a Pagan was an enemy to his owne safety further then it could stand with the safety of the State, as *Pliny* writes; and would not indure that any thing should be wisht for to befall him, but what might bee expedient for the publick. Nay hee appeal'd to the Gods to change their favour towards him if ever hee changed his affection to the Common-wealth. Yet Clergy men now in holy orders, *adviſe Princes not only to preferre themselves, before the people, but even to propose the peoples*

poverty,

poverty, as the beſt meane to their wealth, and the peoples imbroyling the neareſt paſſage to their ſafety. *Cicero* out of *Plato* gives Princes theſe precepts, ſo to provide for the peoples commodity, as in all their actions to have relation to the ſame, and utterly to forget their private advantage: and in the next place to extend their care to the whole body of the Common-wealth, and every part of it. Our Divines on the contrary think they cannot ſpeak more like themſelves then by inverting this order: *making the Kings profit the ſole ſcope of his aimes and actions, and the peoples either ſecondary thereunto,* or which is worſe inconſiſtent therewithall: and ſo farre are they from taking any conſideration of the whole body, *that if the major part bee not condemned to ſlavery, and poverty, they conceive the weale of the whole is expoſed to great hazard.*

It is to be noted alſo, *that we Chriſtians are not only degenerated in our politicks and become more unnaturall then Gentiles, but even we alſo amongſt Chriſtians which have been born under regular governments,* doe more prepoſterouſly let looſe the raines of Soveraignty, then thoſe Gentiles which knew no ſuch regulations. *Seneca* under the Roman Empire ſayes, *Non licet tibi quicquam tui arbitrio facere.* His reaſon is, *magna fortuna, magna ſervitus.* In England this would now be treaſon, if not blaſphemy againſt God and the King, we muſt bee ſo far from ſaying that our King (though hee pretend not to an abſolute prerogative) is a ſervant, that we muſt not ſay he is *univerſis minor*: wee muſt bee ſo farre from denying him an arbitrary power in any thing, *that we muſt allow him an arbitrary diſſent even in thoſe things which the States of Kingdomes after mature debate propoſe to him.* *Maximus* the Emperour in his oration to his ſouldiers uſes this expreſſion: *Neque enim unius tantum hominis poſſeſſio principatus eſt, ſed communis totius Ro: populi ſiquidem in illa urbe ſita eſt imperij fortuna: nobis autem diſpenſatio tantum atque adminiſtratio principatus una vobiſcum demandata eſt.* Who dares now avow at Court that the whole nation of England hath a true intereſt and poſſeſſion of this Crowne, and that there is nothing therein committed to the King, but the office and charge to diſpenſe, and manage the ſame together with the people, for the peoples beſt advantage? That which was true at Rome when there was neither religion, nor perfection of polley to bridle Tyranny is now falſe, dangerous, trayterous in England, amongſt the moſt civill,

vill and knowing Chriſtians that ever were; what can be now ſpoken more odious in the Court of England, then this undeniable truth, that the King is a ſervant to the State, and though far greater, and ſuperiour then all particulars; yet to the whole collectively taken, a meer officer or Miniſter? The objections of our adverſaries againſt this truth are eſpecially theſe two. Firſt, *They ſay the end is not more honourable, and valuable then the means*: And, Secondly, *it cannot be ſo in this caſe*, becauſe (they ſay) *it is contradictory in ſence, and a thing impoſſible in nature to be both a ſervant, and a Lord to the ſame State.* As to the firſt objection, whereas the example of our Saviour is produced to prove, *that ſome inſtruments may be of more dignity then thoſe ends for which they are ordained*: we anſwer, our Saviour though hee did by his blood purchaſe our redemption, yet was in the nature of a free and voluntary agent, he was not deſign'd to ſo great a work of humiliation by any other cauſe then his owne eternall choice: and therefore ſince hee receives no ordination or deſignation from thoſe whom hee came to redeem, nor had no neceſſary impulſion from the work it ſelfe of redemption, but was meerly moved thereunto by his owne intire *voluntas*, wee ſay he was not our mean or inſtrument, but his owne; and whereas *the example of the Angells is next alleadged*: we anſwer alſo, that their Miniſtery performed unto men is rather a thing expedient, then neceſſary; and it is not their ſole or chiefe Miniſtery, neither doe they perform the ſame as neceſſarily drawne thereunto by any motive from man, as being the immediate end of their Miniſtery, but their ſervice is injoyned immediately by God, and ſo God, not man is the true ſcope of their attendance. Laſtly, whereas it is preſt, *that the Advocate is ordained for the Client, the Phyſitian for the Patient, &c. yet it is frequently ſeen that the Advocate is better then his Client, the Phyſitian then his Patient, &c.* We anſwer, every particular Advocate or Phyſitian is not to be compared with every particular Client or Patient, but it is true in generall that the skill and art of the Advocate and Phyſitian is directed in nature not ſo much for the benefit of him which poſſeſſes it, as of him which is ſerved by it; and therefore *Ariſtotle* in the 2. *Phyſ. cap.* 1. affirmes truly that the Phyſitian cures himſelfe by accident, as the Pilot wafts himſelfe by event, it being impoſſible that he ſhould waft others, if hee were abſent. In all arts that

which is principally intended, is the common benefit of all, and becauſe the Artiſt himſelfe is one part of the whole body, conſequently ſome part of the benefit redounds to him. So after the ſame manner hee that ſits at the helme of a State amongſt others, ſteers the ſame for his own ends, but according to *Plato*, and and *Cicero* both, his maine aime, his ſupreame law, ought to bee *ſalus populi*; it is a fit title for Princes to be called Πωμένες λαῶν, and wee know in a Philoſophicall underſtanding, the ſhepheard, though by kind farre more excellent then his charge, yet *in quantum* a ſhepheard, conſidered meerly in that notion with reſpect to his charge, is ſubordinate and bound to expoſe himſelfe for his ſheep. It is our Saviours ſaying, and it was crowned with our Saviours practiſe, *Bonus Paſtor ponit vitam pro ovibus.* Beſides, Advocates, Phyſitians, &c. as they voluntarily chooſe their owne profeſſions, perhaps intend their own private profit in the firſt place, the publick in the ſecond, ſuch is the perverſeneſſe of humane nature; but as the State deſignes, or authorizes them, that intends publick ends in the firſt place.

I paſſe now to the ſecond objection *which maintaines Lord and Servant to be incompatible*; our Tenet is, that Kings may have ſupreame Majeſty as to all individuall ſubjects, yet acknowledge themſelves ſubject to the whole State, and to that ſupreame Majeſty which flowes perpetually from that fountaine. In briefe, according to the old received maxime, the greateſt Monarchs in the eye of Law, policy and nature, may be *ſingulis majores, univerſis minores*, they may obtaine a limited Empire, or *ſub regno graviore regnum.* Our adverſaries though they cannot diſprove, yet they much diſreliſh this doctrine, they cannot ſay it is impoſſible; for all *Democracies, Ariſtocracies*, mixt and limited Monarchies make it viſibly true: nor can they ſay it is incommodious, for there are more mixt and limited States then abſolute; and thoſe which are mixt, and limited, are more civill, more religious, more happy then thoſe which are not. Theſe things are beyond all doubt, and debate. The queſtion then is only, whether abſolute Princes, that is, ſuch as have no perſons to ſhare in power with them, nor no lawes to circumſcribe their power for them, be not as meer ſervants to the State, and as much obliged in point of duty to purſue its publick intereſt, as they

they are Lords over private persons, and predominant over particular interests. Many of the authorities before cited make good the affirmative, and many more may be alleaged to the same purpose: and the rule of finall causes, makes it beyond all contradiction, that there is a certain service annexed to the office of the most independent Potentate. *Nesio est*, (sayes *Alexander Severus*) *à publico dispensatore prodigi que Provinciales dederunt.* He contents himselfe with the name of a publick Steward or Treasurer, and confesses that hee cannot mispend the common stock intrusted with him, without great sinne and injustice.

Maximus also (as was before recited) challenged no more in the Empire then a kind of Commission to dispense, and administer (they are his owne very words) the affaires of the Empire with the State. And therefore *Seneca* gives this admonition, that the Emperour should make his account, *non suam esse Rempub. sed se Reipub.* And this was that service (the very word it selfe is *servitus*) which *Tiberius* complained to be layed on his shoulders so miserable and burthenous, as *Sueton.* writes in the life of *Tiberius*. It was recorded in commendation also of *Nasica*, that hee preferred his countrey before his owne family, and did account no private thing his owne, or worthy of his thoughts in comparison of those things, which were publickly advantageous; *ut enim tutela, sic procuratio Reipub. ad utilitatem eorum, quibus commissi sunt, non ad eorum quibus commissa est, gerenda est*: here the office of a Magistrate is a procuration, he is taken as a Guardian in *Socage*, and the end of his office is the utility of those which are committed to his trust, not his owne. To conclude the lawes of the Empire were very full, and cleer in this, and many more histories might bee brought forth to give more light and strength in the case, but there is no need of any. If any honest Patriot nevertheless think fitter to use the name of father then servant, I shall not wholly gainsay therein. My wish is, that subjects may alwayes understand their right, but not too rigorously insist upon it; neither would I have them in private matters look too much upon their publick capacity: Princes also may without indignity to themselves, at some times condescend to such acknowledgements of the peoples due, as is not so fit to be heard from any mouth, but their owne.

Happy is that King which anticipates his ſubjects in ſubmitting his own titles, and happy are thoſe ſubjects which anticipate their King in ſubmitting their owne rights, and happy are both, when both thus comply at the ſame time.

Nevertheleſſe, if it may be ever ſeaſonable to urge a verity with ſtrictneſſe, Princes are not to be called Fathers of their Subjects, except taken *diviſim*: but are meer ſervants to the people taken *collectim*. How erronious then are they, and how oppoſite to the end of government, which are ſo far from making Kings ſervants to the people, that they make the people ſervants to Kings; whereas the Lord doth not rule for the profit of his ſervant, but by the profit of his ſervant compaſſes his own.

Servile power is tolerated, becauſe it tends to the ſafety and good of him that is ſubject to it; but as *Ariſtotle* holds, 3. *Pol. c.* 4. the maſter in protecting his ſervant does not look upon his ſervants ends herein, but his own, becauſe the loſſe of his ſervant, would be a loſſe to his family. Therefore this kind of Authority is not to be indured in a State, becauſe it is incompetent with liberty, provided onely for ſlaves, and ſuch as have no true direct intereſt in the State: whereas *finis juſti imperii* (as *Ammianus* writes) and as has been confirm'd by many other proofs: *Vtilitas obedientium æſtimatur, & ſalus.* But you will ſay, *It is more reaſonable that Subjects ſhould remain under the condition of ſervants, then he which has authority over thoſe Subjects, and is in place far above them.*

I anſwer: That end to which Princes are deſtin'd, *viz.* the Common good, or βίον δίκιον, as one cals, or ἀλλότριων ἀγαθὸν, as another cals it, or *cura ſalutis aliena*, as another cals it, is ſo excellent, and noble, that without the inconvenience of ſervility, they may be ſervile to it. The truth is, all things that are in the nature of means and inſtruments are then moſt perfect, and intire, when they are moſt fit, and conducible to accompliſh the end for which they are prepared. So *Ariſtot.* delivers in the 5. *Metaphyſ.* and ſo *Averroes*, and *Thomas* thereupon. Tis to quarrell againſt God, and Nature, to except againſt that true and proper end which God and Nature hath deſign'd to any perſon or thing. The *Greeks* called excellence τελεία from τέλος; and the *Romanes* called it *perfectio*, becauſe that is perfect, or conſummate which approaches neareſt to its end. Tis not onely

onely therefore to be ſaid, that that is a perfect, or intire State, wherein the Governor executes all things in order to the Common good, but he alſo is a perfect, and intire Governor, which bends all his actions to that purpoſe. For if we look up to Almighty God, we muſt needs acknowledge that he is moſt truly repreſented and perſonated by ſuch a Deputy as refers all things to publick Good. For God is goodneſſe it ſelf, and there is nothing more eſſential to goodneſſe, then to be diffuſive, and God has no end of addition or profit to himſelf in making Heaven, or Earth, Angels or men.

Next if we look upon Nations, they ever retribute moſt honour, and repay moſt dutie, love, and gratitude to ſuch Princes as are moſt free from particular aymes. That Reigne which ſupports it ſelf by terror is accompanied with hatred, and danger: but that which found it ſelf upon love, is truly majeſticall, ſafe, and durable. For in part the Princes happineſſe is involved in his Subjects, and he does more partake in their flouriſhing condition, then they in his private advantages. If *Cicero* can ſay, *Noſtrum dicamus eſſe, quicquid bono principi naſcatur:* the Prince may ſay as truly, *Principis eſt quicquid eſt omnium.* Therefore does *Ariſtot.* 8. *Ethic.* c. 10. maintain, that Kings do not regard their own particulars, but the community of their Subjects; becauſe there is a ſelf-ſufficiencie, and perfection in good Kings whileſt they cannot be ſaid to want that, which their Subjects have. Queen *Elizab.* by her publick actions doubted not to win her Subjects hearts, and being poſſeſſed of her Subjects hearts, ſhe doubted not but to command both their hands and purſes, and what elſe could ſhe want to make her truly great and glorious?

Next, if we look upon Princes themſelves, they have gallant, capacious, and heavenly ſouls, which know no bounds in their affections but the Community it ſelf, over which God hath placed them: but they are ever narrow of heart, poore of ſpirit, and weak in judgement, that prefer themſelves, and their own profit, or rather a ſhadow of profit, before the whole flock of God, and that which is indeed reall, and ſubſtantiall glory. *Plato* ſuppoſes that Nature in the compoſition of common people uſed the courſeſt metall in the compoſition of Souldiers, and the middle rank ſilver; but in the production of chief Commanders, the pureſt ſort of gold. His

meaning is, ſhe infuſed higher and better principles, where ſhe confined to greater and nobler ends.

Laſtly, if we look upon the nature of the end it ſelf, we ſhall ſee there is not that ſervility in it as is ſuppoſed, it differs *toto genere* from that prepoſterous end, which would make whole Nations ſervile. For if it be ſlaviſh, and baſe, to have the true good or proſperity of millions poſtponed to the falſe good and proſperity of one man, ſure it is directly the contrary, for one man to abdicate that which has but the ſhew of his ſingle benefit in compariſon of that which apparently is the true benefit of millions. Servility and ſlaverie (if it be rightly defined) is that odious and unnaturall condition, which ſubjects and neceſſitates a man to a falſe end, or to ſuch an end, as God and Nature in his creation never did intend him for. Now this definition does not agree with that condition of a Prince, which ſubjects, and neceſſitates him to publick ends. Let then all Princes from hence learn to renounce *Machiavils* ignoble, ſordid principles, and let them induſtriouſly aſpire to the true excellence and perfection of that publick divine end, for which they were ordained. Let them think it more glorious, and better beſeeming imperiall dignity, to be accounted the love, and delights of Mankind, as *Titus* was; then the ſeducers of Iſrael, as *Jeroboam* was. Let them zealouſly imitate *Auguſtus*, who found Rome built of brick, but left it all beautified with marble; rather then *Nero* who conſumed both brick and marble with fire, and reduced all to aſhes.

Let them follow that Prince, who preferred the ſaving of one Subjects life, before the ſlaughtering of a thouſand enemies; rather then ſuch Princes, as uſually value the life of one Traytor, before the peace and ſafety of divers Kingdoms.

To conclude, let the publick good of their Subjects, (being the true end of their Royaltie aſſign'd both by God and Man) be the meaſure of their actions, the touchſtone of their Politicks, the perfection of their Laws, the determination of their doubts, and the pacification of all their differences.

We have now ſeen who is the Architect, and what the true intent is of the Architect. Let us in the third place take view of ſome frames and erections to gain more light from the parts, and faſhions thereof. And firſt let us take notice of ſuch Politicks as Scripture affords

affords from *Adam* to *Moſes*; and next from the introduction of the Law till the Incarnation of our Saviour: then let us inform our ſelves of that Empire under which Chriſtianity began firſt to ſpread; and laſtly, let us draw down to our owne times, and ſurvey our owne fabrick.

The firſt ſpecies of *Power*, which had a being in the world (for the word *Power* is applyed diverſly) was *Maritall*: and this we conceive to be ſomething more then meer order, but not ſo much as Juriſdiction; for theſe reaſons.

Firſt, the Scripture ſaies, *the man, and the woman were made one fleſh*, or one perſon; and they were ſo conjoyned in their intereſts, that the love of ſon and father was not ſo ſtrong, as this conjugall tye.

This makes a coercive power improper, *when man is to uſe it upon his own members:* for man is not ſaid juſtly to have any juriſdiction over his own parts, or members; tis a kind of ſolœciſme in nature. *Ubi tu Caius, ibi ego Caia*, ſo ſaid the old Roman law, and God in the fifth Commandement allowes the ſame degree of honour to the mother as to the father.

Seeon lly, If the Husband have ſuch a coercive power, it is ſo arbitrary that he may proceed to what degree of rigour he pleaſes, even to death it ſelfe; for as hee hath no law to bound him, ſo hee hath no equall to controll him: nay, he is not Judge only, but informer, witneſſe, and executioner alſo: and nothing can bee more extreame, and rigid then this.

Thirdly, The wife (*admitting ſuch a Juriſdiction of the husband*) *if in all caſes remedileſſe and deſtitute of appeale*; though there bee more bonds of duty, and awe, to reſtraine her from being injurious, diſobedient and unnaturall to her husband, then to withhold her husband from abaſing his authority, (and this ought rather to exempt her, then him) yet in this caſe, *for him there is no controll, and for her there is no redreſſe.*

Fourthly, There is no mention precept or precedent in Scripture, to countenance any coertion of this nature, unleſſe we will call that of divorce and repudiation ſo; and that alſo ſeemes diſcountenanced by our Saviour, except in caſe of Adultery.

Fifthly, We ſee in all nations the power of Husbands is regulated by the publick civill power; *which if it were from nature, before*

Civill

Civill power it could not justly be repealed, nor meritto bee altered. Contra jus naturale, non valet dispositio humana.

When *Vasthi* the Empereſſe would not ſubmit to the command of him who was both her Husband and Prince, a law was made to puniſh that contempt, and the like offences, and till that law was made, it was not thought fit that the Juriſdiction either or husband or Prince ſhould be exerciſed againſt her.

Tis ſufficient therefore that Nature teaches wives to look upon their husbands intereſts, as their own, and their perſons as themſelves; and to acknowledge them their Lords, as God has indued them with more majeſtie, ſtrength, and noble parts: and to be ſubmiſſe as they were created of and for men: and if then Nature prevails not, recourſe muſt be had to an impartiall Judicature, where either party may be indifferently heard: for there is no more juſtice intended to the one, then to the other, nor can injuſtice be more feared from the one, then the other. So much concerning *Maritall power*, and to ſhew that nothing can be rightly extracted out of it, for the liconſing of arbitrary rule in the State. Wherefore I paſſe to *Paternall power*.

The ſecond *ſpecies* of *Power* which ſucceeded in the world, was that which Parents have over their children: and this alſo we conceive to exceed meer Order, but not to equall Juriſdiction, or at leaſt abſolute Juriſdiction; for theſe reaſons:

Firſt, becauſe tis apparent, that in the family the power of the Mother does participate with the power of the Father, and by its mixture and co-ordination cannot but be ſome qualification to its rigour.

Secondly, take children before they are of maturity, and there needs no other Scepter, but a ewig to awe them; and take them to be of full age, and then they ſpread into families themſelves, and riſe to the ſame command in their own houſes, as they were ſubject to in their fathers.

It were unjuſt alſo that Parents ſhould claime any Juriſdiction to hold their children from marriage, or to uſurp ſo over them after marriage, as they may not command in the ſame manner, as they are, or were themſelves commanded.

Thirdly, Nature with a very ſtrong inſtinct breaks the force of Paternall

Paternall empire, by turning the current of affection rather from the father to the ſon, than from the ſon to the father: it rather makes the father, which is the root, convey ſap to the ſon, which is the branch, than on the contrary: and therefore the naturall end of the father, is not his own good only, but his whole families, (according to *Ariſtotle*) whereas, take him in the notion of a Maſter, and ſo he regards his own good in the firſt place, and his ſervants in the ſecond, only as it conduces to his.

Fourthly, If Parents had an abſolute juriſdiction over their Children, even to life and death; then Children, which in the eye of Policie, are ſometimes many in number, and of more publike value then their Parents, might be oppreſt without all meanes of remedie: and this may prove miſchievous and unequall, and not fit to be referred to Natures intention.

Fifthly, In all Civill Countries, where Government is eſtabliſhed, there are Lawes to over-rule Parents as well as Children, and to provide for the ſafetie of Children as well as Parents: And where no Government is yet eſtabliſhed, there is no preſident of ſuch juriſdiction.

Upon the murther of *Abel*, if the right of a Father had intitled *Adam* to the ſame power, as the right of a Prince uſeth to doe, *Adam* ought to have arraigned *Cain* at his Bar, and to have required blood for blood. But we do not find that *Adam* did claim any ſuch power, or ſin, in not claiming it: We find rather that the whole ſtock of Mankinde then living, were the Judges that *Cain* feared: and there is reaſon why they ſhould be more competent for ſuch a tryall then the Father himſelfe. When there were no Kings, no Judges in Iſrael, the People by common conſent did riſe up to vindicate common treſpaſſes; and God ſo required it at their hands. But if judgement ſhould be left to Parents only, much injuſtice might be expected from them, which is not ſo much to be feared from the People not yet aſſociated: For the offence of the Son is either againſt the Father, or ſome other: If againſt the Father, then is he Judge in his own caſe; and that is dangerous; the Father may be partiall to himſelfe: If againſt another, then the Father is a ſtranger to the Plaintiffe, not to the Defendant: and that is more dangerous, in regard that partialitie is more to be feared.

The Paternal right of *Adam* might better qualifie him for rule, whilſt he lived only amongſt his own deſcendents, than any other pretence could any other particular perſon amongſt his deſcendents: but it did only qualifie, not actually conſtitute: and ſince *Adams* death, none but *Noah* could pretend to the ſame qualification.

The right of Fathers is now in all Fathers equall; and if we doe not grant, that it is now emerged or made ſubordinate in all great aſſociated Bodies, by that common authoritie which extends over all, we muſt make it incompatible with Common Authoritie. 'Tis true, *Bodin* is very zealous for Paternall empire; and he conceives, that the publique Courts of Juſtice would not be ſo full of ſuites, if this Domeſticall juriſdiction were not too far eclipſed thereby. But 'tis well anſwered, That *Bodin*, in this, doth not aime at the totall cure of Contention in the State: his only ambition is, to eaſe the publique Courts, and to fill private houſes with more vexations and unnaturall conteſtations.

The Romane Law was very rigid againſt Children; and *Bodin* ſuppoſes that Law was grounded upon the Law of Nature: but we know it never was received in all Nations, neither is it now in force almoſt in any Nation: And whereas *Bodin* appeales to Gods law, *Deut.* 21. we deſire no better determination; for the very words of the Law there, give the definitive ſentence to the Elders, and the execution to the whole City: the Parent hath no part, but that of the Witneſſe, left to him; neither indeed can any man be thought more unfit either to judge, or to execute, nay, or to be a ſpectator of the rebellious executed Son, than the Father himſelfe. Civilitie hath now ſo far prevailed even in the Imperiall Law it ſelfe, that Parents may not cauſelesly abdicate or diſ-inherit Children; nor is that held a good Teſtament, wherein the Sons name is totally omitted; Nor if ingratitude, or diſobedience, or any other cauſe be alledged againſt the Son, is the Father left ſolely to his own judgement in that cauſe.

We doe allow, that Parents are gods to their Children, and may challenge great pietie from them; and that, in nature, their offices of kindneſſe are of grace, and not of duty; whereas no office of the child is of grace, but of meere duty: Yet this deſtroyes not Law, or the interpoſition of Publique Authoritie. The Fathers right in the Son, is

not

not ſo great as is the Countries. *Cicero* ſaith very well, *Patria una omnium charitates complectitur.* The Father therefore muſt not uſe his inferior right to the prejudice of a higher. Nay, the Father is not only reſtrained by Law from acts of injuſtice, the ſame being in him more to be deteſted than in a ſtranger: but he is of duty to perform all ſuch pious offices alſo, as the infirme condition of Children ſtand in continuall need of.

And this duty, though the Child cannot challenge as proportionable to any merit in him, yet the State ſhall injoyne as neceſſary, and righteous, and altogether indiſpenſable. Nay, ſuppoſe our Crown eſcheated, or ſuppoſe any body of men not yet aſſociated; yet ſtill we maintain, the Father (not as *animal ſociatum*, but only as *animal ſociale*) owes a preſervation of his Iſſue, for the common good of Mankinde; and cannot deny payment of the ſame, without great injuſtice to humane nature. We may conclude then, that this Paternall rule being ſo far divided and limited in point of loſſe of life, libertie, or other properties, wherein there is a rivaltie or concurrence of a common intereſt: and ſo far clogged with pious duties and tender reſpects, will be very unapt to lend any teſtimonie for rigorous, boyſterous prerogatives in Princes.

The next kind of *Power* viſible in the World, was *Fraternall*: for the Father being dead, the eldeſt Son is ſuppoſed by ſome to have inherited his dominion, or at leaſt to have attained to ſome ſuperioritie over his younger brethren. Much might be ſaid to prove, that Fathers did not tranſmit all their power to their eldeſt Sons; for ſo there had remained but one Monarch in the World: and the ſtory of *Abraham* and *Lot* ſufficiently diſproves this fond dreame. But take it for granted, and yet the ſame Anſwers which make conditionate the power of the Father, muſt in the ſame manner be applied to the power of the Brother. Philoſophie tells, that the cement betwixt brother and brother, is in ſome reſpects more knitting than any other whatſoever: for the cement of love betwixt Husband and Wife, is equall, but not naturall; the cement betwixt Father and Son is naturall, yet not equall; but the obliging power of amitie betwixt Brother and Brother, is both equall and naturall: and this is no ſure preparation for ſuperioritie. *Majeſtas & Amor non bene conveniunt.* And therefore 'twill be ſuperfluous to anſwer any

farther to this point.

Our next transition then will be from Fraternall power to that of Masters or Lords, which from the Greek we terme *Despoticall*, from the Latine, *Herile*. This power gives the Lord an absolute, arbitrarie interest in the slave; and it cannot be called Jurisdiction, because it proposeth no ends of Justice in it selfe. A *slave* (according to *Aristotle*) *is he, who is so wholly his Lords, as that he hath no propertie remaining in himselfe: he only lives, or hath a being to his Lord; but is as dead, nay nothing to himself. Whatsoever may be acquired by him, whatsoever may accrue any other way to him, it rests immediately in his Lord: and his person, his life, all that Nature hath endowed him withall, is so his Lords, that at discretion he may be beaten, tortured, killed, or libidinously used, &c.* His very Lord is not called his, as he is called his Lords: for he is his Lords absolute possession, as a horse, or any reall or personall chattell is: but his Lord is his, only *secundum quid*, as he beares rule over him: in all other things the Lord retaines his own state, person, libertie and right; neither doth he refer to the slave, but in a limited respect.

Hereupon it is much controverted, whether Servitude be agreeable to Nature, or no? And as Naturalists doe generally hold it affirmative; so our Civilians are strong for the Negative. Wherefore for the stating of this, we must know, that Servitude is largely taken by *Aristotle*, and not distinguished from order in Nature, or that power which Man hath over sensitive and vegetable things, or that Jurisdiction which intends Publique good, and the distributing to every man that which is his own. This caused that error. We must understand also, that when Lawyers maintaine all men to have been equall by Nature, and free; their meaning is, that no violent, noxious, unvoluntarie inequalitie, or restraint, had its introduction from Nature.

So the true Question is but this; Whether that power of a Lord, which is unlimited, over his slave, be in any kind profitable for the Slave, good for the State, or expedient for Mankinde, or no? If it be, it may have a foundation in Nature; If not, it is otherwise. And whereas *Aristotle* presupposes, that there are some men so servile by nature, and so nearely approaching to bruit beasts, that they cannot governe themselves, nor live but by the soules of other men:

we

we may not reject this, yet wholly reject Dominicall-power notwithstanding.

For first, That Dominicall-power which we oppose, is unnaturall; it is such as has no eye at all upon the good or conservation of the slave, or at least, none but secundary; the very definition of it leaves the slave utterly disinherited of himself, and subject to his masters sole ends: Now that which tends not to the preservation, is not naturall, but violent, and consequently, to be abhorred.

Secondly, there can be no condition of man so servile or brutish, as to require an Arbitrary subjection: Nature has not exposed infants to this rigour, no nor beasts, and therefore much lesse any that have a larger use of reason: This condition does make Government absolutely necessary; but absolute Government it does not prove so much as expedient.

Thirdly, if this condition did justifie Dominicall-Rule as to that respect, yet this justifies it not generally, and as the world has ever hitherto used it, and as it is commonly understood: No generous minde, no knowing man, no Polititian ought to be mancipated by this ground; and yet we know well, Slavery hitherto has observed no such distinction in the world.

Fourthly, Servile Government does not onely shew it self injurious and violent in devesting the propriety of those which are subjected to it, but also the more publike and sublime propriety; which the Common-wealth, the Society of Mankinde, nay God himself has in the parties enslaved. If the lord may destroy his slave at pleasure, then he may destroy that, which in part is belonging to another: then the condition of a slave is worse than of a beast, or any inanimate Cattels; and this is most unnaturall, and publikely detrimentall. *Sic utere tuo, ne noceas alieno: sic utere privato, ne noceas publico.* These are Maximes that restrain men from the abuse of any other things; nay, by these Rules, no man may abuse himself: yet these restrain not from abusing slaves; these deny not, but a lord may have a more confined power over his slave, than he has over himself. *Seneca* would not admit, that the masters right in the slave should derogate from the right of himself in himself, much lesse of others; therefore doth he most admirably expostulate, thus: *Servi sunt? imò homines. Servi sunt? imò contubernales. Servi sunt? imò hu-*

humiles amici. Servi sunt? imò conservi. His Concluſion is, *Cum in ſervum omnia liceant, eſt aliquid quod in hominem licere communius velit.* Here is a difference obſerved between the nature of the ſervant and the nature of the man: If thou may'ſt tyrannize over him as he is thy ſervant, yet thou may'ſt not as he is man: If the miſery of one capacity have expoſed him to thy cruelty, the priviledge of the other capacity ought to recommend him to thy favour: If the more baſe relation of ſervant entitle thee to domineer, yet the more noble relation of man checks the inſolence of that title.

Fifthly, Arbitrary Government does not onely rob ſlaves of that naturall intereſt which they have in themſelves, and States of their publike Intereſts which they have both above lords and ſlaves; but it is often a very ſtrong Incentive to cauſe an abuſe of that uſurped Intereſt.

The Story of *Vedius Pollio* may make this good, and ſuffice inſtead of thouſands that might be produced. *This* Pollio *had a Pond ſtored with Lampries; and as he kept the Lampries for his own food, ſo his wicked uſe was to caſt the bodies of men into the Pond, to feed the Lampries.* Auguſtus *the Emperour came by chance as a gueſt to his houſe; and, during the entertaiment, a Cryſtal-Glaſſe was broken by one of his ſlaves that attended. The ſlave knowing his lords cruelty, and fearing to be thrown into the Lamprie-pool, and ſo made to die an unnaturall prey to fiſhes, fell at the feet of* Auguſtus, *not ſupplicating for life, but ſome other manner of death, leſſe to be abominated. The Emperour, moved with compaſſion, became an interceder for his pardon; and not prevailing, in abhorrence of that bloody Monſter, commanded the ſlave to be diſmiſt, the Pond to be filled up with earth, and all the reſt of* Pollio's *Cryſtal-Glaſſes to be broken inſtantly, for prevention of the like diſaſters.*

There was much grace in this; but there had been far more, if he had diſmiſt all the ſlaves in *Rome* for the ſame reaſon, or ſo curbed the power of the lords, that they might not have been any longer incited thereby to ſuch prodigious degrees of inhumanity. By the ſame reaſon alſo, as this unbridled Licenſe make lords more inſulting, it makes thoſe that are inſulted over the more vindicatives, falſe, and dangerous. Many horrid Stories might be produced, to prove, that the cruelty of lords has always been retalliated with infidelity, hatred

hatred and desperate revenge of slaves.

But some will say, *Slaves have been very usefull to some States; and there are experiments, that slavery it self has been beneficiall to thousands of slaves themselves: and it is known to all, that in the first dilatation of Christianity, when slaves were every where discharged for the honour of Religion, the World became full of beggars: and though Hospitals and Alms-houses exceedingly encreased, yet it was too little to keep many from starving, and begging up and down. Hereupon, the Emperour* Valens *was compelled, by his Edict, to recall into slavery again all such as had begged from door to door, and for want of industry or ingenuity could not provide for their own sustenance, and so declared themselves uncapable of the benefit of liberty.*

To this I make answer thus: First, Slaves in all Countreys and in all Ages have not been treated alike: and it is manifest, that in such Countreys and times, wherein they have been protected against extremity of rigour by courteous Laws, they have been of some private use: But when they have been too numerous, and when they have been governed with cruelty, they have been publikely fatall, for the most part. Let *Bodin* speak to this Point.

Secondly, Where slaves are under the protection of other Laws than their lords wills, and where they are truely parts and members of the State, and so regarded; they cease to be slaves, according to our aforesaid Definition.

Thirdly, A confused enlarging of slaves at the same instant of time, and dismission from all domesticall rule, might be prejudiciall in the infancy of Religion; but the altering of domestick rule, or changing the same from arbitrary to legall, from despoticall to paternall, and that for some certain space of time, could have bred no inconvenience: For if the meer restoring of men to a right in themselves, and a common and reciprocall right in the State, could make them uncapable of subsisting, this would extend to all Nations and Times; whereas we know, we see, we daily try the contrary every where.

But it will be further said, *If Nature it self has no ways recommended this Arbitrary power over slaves; yet the Laws of Nations, or Municipall Laws do justly permit the same.* This, if it be granted, does nothing at all invalidate any thing by me undertaken: Yet, for further

ther ſatisfaction herein alſo, it is to be obſerved,

First, That God, by his Law againſt murther, oppreſſion, &c. excepts not ſlaves more then freemen: That he equally hates ſin in freemen, and rewards vertue in ſlaves: That he has care of ſlaves equally as of freemen; and extends the price of Chriſts Blood equally to both: and in *Levit.* 25. his law is peremptorily to the Jews, That none of that Nation ſhall be in Bondage, or ſerve *inſtar Mancipii*; *ſed ut Mercenarius, aut hoſpes:* Nay, even mercenary ſervants were to be ſet free, and to return to their kinred, and liberty with all their goods and family, *vertente Jubileo:* Nay, the *Canaanites* and Heathens, whom God had deſigned to extirpation, yet might not remain in ſlavery, after they did embrace the true Religion; then there was the ſame Law to the Jew and to the Proſelyte: the Apoſtle is clear in this, *Omnes unum ſunt in Chriſto.* Whether they be Jews or Greeks, bond or free, &c. And if Saint *Paul* does perſwade ſervants, not to withdraw themſelves from their maſters after converſion to Chriſtianity; but remain under the yoke, and to honour and obey their maſters: *Ne nomen Dei, & doctrina male propter ipſorum iniquam pertinaciam audeat.* This commends not at all the condition of ſlaves; it onely tolerates it ſo far, as that where it is eſtabliſhed by publike authority, it may not be repealed by private perſons. Yet we read of no ſlavery, till it was denounced to *Chams* poſterity, as a curſe by God; neither may we impute the ſin of that ſlavery which enſued upon that curſe, to God, as the proper and immediate cauſe thereof.

Secondly, as there is no difference of ſlaves and freemen before God, ſo neither is there in nature: Slaves are men as much as their lords; they have the ſame endowments of minde, the ſame ability of body; they are born with the ſame danger, and expoſed to the ſame miſeries.

Thirdly, In the State, if liberty be a benefit, and may be publikely more uſefull then bondage, the liberty of the ſervant ought to be as precious, and is of as much publike importance as the Lords: nay, it often happens, that the ſervant has more naturall ingenuity then the maſter.

Fourthly, If we have reſpect to meer uſage, and the cuſtom of Nations, we ſhall finde, that the extreme rigour of arbitrary ſervitude

was

was ſcarce ever entertained by any, but barbarous people; nay amongſt Barbarians, ſcarce any would inſlave natives, or ſuch as they thought of the true Religion, or ſuch as had not ſome way merited death by the Law: Scarce any but had *Aſylum*, or ſome other means of refuge for ſlaves oppreſſed, and brought almoſt to deſperation: and where too much rigor was uſed, ſcarce any but found the deſperation of ſlaves pernitious.

Tacitus ſayes of the *Germans*, that they were ſo indulgent to ſlaves, that they were ſcarce to be called ſlaves there. And amongſt the *Ruſſians*, none but the Prince could take away the life of his ſlave. The *Athenians* allowed by Law, that the complaints and ſuites of ſlaves ſhould be publikely heard: nay, they provided for plowing Oxen, by Law, that they ſhould not be abuſed. *Cadmus* at *Thebes*, and *Theſius* at *Athens*, erected an Altar of Mercy, for protection of Slaves. At *Rome*, the ſtatue of *Romulus*; at *Epheſus*, the Temple of *Diana* ſerved for ſuch mercifull uſes; And almoſt all Nations had the like places for recourſe of oppreſſed Captives.

The Law *Aquilia* and *Petronia* were paſſed in favour of ſlaves, and to reſtraine all crueltie beyond ſcourging. And *Auguſtus*, as alſo many Emperors after him, when Civilitie began to be illightned by Chriſtianitie, began to break the arbitrarie power of Lords, and to ſet bounds to it, as a thing fit to be antiquated for many equitable reaſons. As ſoon as Chriſtianitie was eſtabliſhed, by Law, proviſion was preſently made to free all Chriſtians from ſlaverie. And 'tis now 400 yeares, and more, ſince all ſlaverie amongſt Chriſtians hath been wholly expulſed, ſo that there is ſcarce any name or memory thereof remaining. And this cannot but be attributed partly to piety, partly to equity, and partly to naturall reſpects.

Fifthly, If we have reſpect to Law, either we muſt acknowledge that the Commonwealth hath an intereſt in ſlaves, or not. If it hath not, what a maime, what a loſſe is this? If it hath, how can ſuch miſ-improvement thereof be anſwered to God, or juſtified in Policie? If it be ſaid, that *ſlaverie may be inflicted as a due puniſhment not unſuitable to naturall reaſon, or exchanged for death.* I anſwer: My ſcope is not to prove, that Arbitrarie ſervilitie is at ſome times, and to ſome ſpirits, worſe than death: Nor doe I wholly bend my ſelfe againſt it, as it is inflicted upon any that really deſerved death. I ſhall

only thus argue: Either condemnation, and ſentence of ſlavery paſſed upon the guilty, doth really put the Delinquent into a worſe condition than death, or not. If it doth, then it is unjuſt and exceſſive. If not, then it reſerves ſomething to the delinquent, wherein neither the right of the Delinquent, nor the right of the State is wholly loſt and relinquiſhed; And if the Delinquent be dead to himſelfe, and yet not to others; then not to the State, more than to the Lord; for how can the State, which hath an intereſt in the Lord, chuſe but have an intereſt in that, which is the intereſt of the Lord?

So much of this kind of Power. Now we orderly arrive at that Power, which is the only intended ſubject of our diſcourſe; and that we ſhall properly call Juriſdiction. We have already ſearched the Schooles for the cauſes of Power, both finall and efficient; We have alſo ranſacked the boſome of Nature for all other ſpecies of Power; and yet we can find no grounds for abſolute Rule. We ſhall now therefore make enquiry for precedents or patternes, ſuch as all ages may furniſh us withall. And who now hath any competent ſhare of reaſon, can ſuppoſe, that if God and Nature have been ſo carefull to provide for libertie in Families, and in particulars; that Man would introduce, or ought to indure ſlaverie, when it is introduced upon whole States and Generalities. Every thing intends its own good and preſervation, and therefore when Communities ſancied to themſelves the formes of Juriſdiction, we muſt beleeve that they did not wholly depart from the originals of God and Nature, but rather copy out of thoſe formes whatſoever was beſt and moſt ſoveraigne in each. Howſoever 'tis granted on all ſides, that Princes and ſupreme Commanders, in all Ages and Countries, have differed in the latitude of Juriſdiction; ſome have been more abſolute, others leſſe. Now ſince this did proceed from divers reaſons, and hath produced divers effects; let this be the ſubject of our diſcuſſion.

The nature of Man being depraved by the fall of *Adam*, miſeries of all ſorts broke in upon us in throngs, together with ſin; inſomuch that no creature is now ſo uncivill and untame, or ſo unfit either to live with, or without ſocietie, as Man. Wolves and Beares can better live without Wolves and Beares, then Man can without Man; yet

yet neither are Wolves nor Beares ſo fell, ſo hoſtile, and ſo deſtructive to their own kinde, as Man is to his. In ſome reſpects, Man is more eſtranged from Politicall union than Devils are: for by reaſon of naturall diſparitie, the reprobate Angels continue without diſſolution of order, and ſhun that confuſion amongſt themſelves, which they endeavour to promote amongſt Men. But amongſt Men, nothing but curſed enmitie is to be ſeen. When *Ariſtotle* ſayes, that *Men doe aſſociate by inſtinct of Nature, for ends of honeſtie, as they are communicative creatures, as well as neceſſitie and ſafetie:* He rather intimates *what we ſhould be, than what we are*; and tells us *What we were created, rather than what we are being now lapſed.*

We muſt inſiſt upon Neceſſitie therefore, as the main ground and end of Policie; And beſides Order, and the Lawes of God and Nature, we muſt finde out ſome more particular conſtitutions, to cement us, and to hold us faſt bound together. Though the times of *Adam* were not uncouth, as ours now are, yet even then the common conſent of Mankinde (that which we now call, *Jus Gentium*) was too ſlack and looſe a bond, to keep the World from diſſipation.

Whilſt the Univerſe was but one intire Houſe, united under one common Father, in whom all tyrannous thoughts were contrary to the worſt ſuggeſtions of Nature; whilſt the neare relation of blood was freſh, and unobliterated; whilſt the ſpacious ſurface of the Earth (not yet thronged with plantations) afforded few baites of avarice, or objects of ambition, or grounds of difference betwixt brother and brother; whilſt ſo many umpires of equall diſtance in blood, were at hand to interpoſe, in caſe any difference did unhappily ariſe; The raines of Government might hang more looſe and eaſie upon the necks of Men. Yet even the infancie of the World, we ſee, required ſomething more than the rod to over-awe it, and ſome other ſeverer hand than a Fathers, to ſhake that rod: Nay, if *Abel* fall by the bloody hand of a Murtherer, (who hath no other provocation given him, but the pietie and devotion of his neareſt allie) little expiation or juſtice is to be expected from the common aſſembly of the whole body.

How long it was before Families did incorporate, and grow up into Cities, and Cities into States; and how long it was before Ci-

ties and States did frame Laws, and settle Magistrates to enforce those Laws, is dimly and obscurely set forth, either in the Book of God, or other Authors: but we may very well guesse, by the many small petty Principalities that we read of in all ancient Chronicles, either divine or profane. That Regiment in the first ages of the world was rather too milde and sinewlesse, than too violent and rigorous: Where the Territories are narrower, the managery of affairs is the easier; and where the Scepter is more easie to be swayed by the Prince, it is more gentle to be born by the people. Were it not for fear of forreign infestations, smaller Seigniories were best constituted and disposed, for peace and duration: And because they require no large Prerogatives, but rest satisfied with little more then Paternall power, the people are lesse jealous of their lord, and they, consequently, have the lesse occasion to be harsh to the people.

Nimrod is registred with the title of a great Hunter; but whether he had that addition given him for enlarging the confines of his Dominion, or for acquiring a more unbounded Prerogative, or for exercising his power more insolently, is not declared: Besides, it is left utterly uncertain, whether *Nimrod* laid his foundation upon force, or consent; whether he did by his tongue or his sword drive and hunt men out of Woods and wilde Recesses into Towns and Cities: for that force by which he did prevail, can hardly be supposed to be it self wholly forced. It is left also as dubious to conjecture, how far consent was left by Nature; for if order, and right of succession, did give the rule according to primogeniture, then all mankinde must have been subjected to one Crown; whereas, if Primogeniture were wholly neglected, and every father or brother left independent in his own family, to associate or not at his pleasure, then Rule would have been crumbled into Atomes.

To avoid therefore surmises, and the dark Labyrinths of our primative-Records before the Flood, and immediately following, let us fall lower, upon the Story of *Abraham*, *Moses*, *David*, and such as succeeded them. The people of God, at severall times, were under either several forms, or several degrees of power and jurisdiction: That Soveraignty which *Abraham* and the Patriarchs had, was not the same as that which *Moses* and the Judges had; neither had *Moses* and the Judges the same as *Saul* and the Kings; nor yet had *Saul* and the

the Kings the same as *Cyrus*, and the Persian Emperours.

It is disputed much by some, *Whether the Patriarchs and Judges before* Sauls *days had Regal-power or no*: Some say, *Their power was Regal*; others say, *It was but Aristocraticall*: and others (more judiciously, in my opinion) say, *It was mixt of both.* One says, *That, after the Flood, till* Nimrods *usurpation, men lived under the Empire of single Commanders, who nevertheless did not govern as Kings, but as Fathers*: Now since this is but the patern which all Kings ought to follow, therefore what other meaning can this bear, but that Governours in those days, having small Territories, did claim but moderate Prerogatives, though they were as solely supreme in the State, as Fathers are in the Families? As for *Moses*, and the Judges also, it is truely said, They were no other then Gods Vice-Roys, in regard they did go forth to Battel by immediate Commission, and transact many other great affairs by direction from Gods own mouth: Nevertheless, this alters the case little or nothing, as to the latitude of their Prerogatives; this rather added than took honour, grandour, or jurisdiction from them; this left them as sole a Sovereignty, and as unbounded over the people, as other Princes have who are Gods ordinary Vice-gerents.

It must needs be, therefore, That that ease and freedom which the people then found under Gods immediate Substitutes, was not procured by any further Right or Law, or from any other indifferent composition of Government which they had belowe, from other Monarchies; but from a Regulation above; because it was impossible for their chief lord to oppresse, or do injustice, or to direct his thought to particular ends, contrary to theirs.

This shews how impious and stupid a Frenzie that was in the Israelites, which made them weary of Gods Headship; for indeed, they did not so properly create to themselves a new Government, as a new Governour. We cannot think that *Saul*, being invested with Style and State of an ordinary King, and discharged of such an immediate extraordinary dependence upon God, as *Samuel* acknowledged, had thereby any new Right granted him, to do wrong, or be oppressive to his Subjects: his Diadem did not absolve him from the true end of Diadems, nor did his meer Instalment (so much against Gods will and advertisement) cancell the Law of God,

which forbids Kings to amaſſe treaſure into their private Coffers, or to encreaſe their Cavalries, or to provide extraordinary Magazines of Arms and Munition, or to lift up their hearts above their brethren; much more to employ their Treaſure, Horſes or Arms againſt their Subjects.

Barclay, and our Royalliſts, offer apparant violence to Scripture, when they will make God to call the uſuall rapine and inſolence of Kings, *Jus Regis*; whereas indeed, the word in the Orignal ſignifieth nothing but *Mos Regis*, as is plain to all that will look into the ſame.

Howſoever, let the Prerogative of the Jewiſh Kings be taken in its utmoſt extent, and take the reſtraint of Gods Morall Law not to be of any Politicall efficacie; yet we ſhall ſtill perceive, that the very compoſition of that Monarchy was not without qualifications of mixture, and other Limitations.

The Crown, it was ſeeled upon *Judah*, and more particularly, upon the Houſe of *David*; yet the Peoples election was not thereby wholly drowned: for ſtill, before every Coronation, they might aſſemble to give their Votes, and were not neceſſitated to chooſe any individuall perſon in the Houſe of *David*. It appears alſo by the Story of *Rehoboam*, that the people might capitulate for juſt Munities, and require ſome Obligation for aſſurance of the ſame: and in caſe that was not granted, it was eſteemed, and properly it might be ſaid, That the King did reject the people, and deny protection; not that the People did reject the King, and deny ſubjection.

Next, there was a great Colledge and Councell of Elders, called, The Sanhedrin, conſiſting of 71 Princes, who had the hearing and determining of all weighty and intricate Suits, unto whom the laſt appeal lay from inferiour Courts; and the King, without tyranny, could not interrupt or impeach the proceedings of this Sanhedrin. If *Saul* will charge *David* with Treaſon, and, without all legall Proceſſe, take Arms againſt him, untried and uncondemned, *David* may leavie Forces of Voluntiers againſt the followers of *Saul*, and ſtand upon his juſtification, *cum moderamine inculpatæ tutelæ*. Wicked *Ahab* ſtood in ſo much awe of ſuch kinde of trialls, in the corrupted State of *Iſrael*, that when he coveted *Naboths* Vineyard, he durſt not attempt to wreſt it away by force, nor did he obtrude upon the

the Court what Sentence he pleaſed; he was driven to hire perjured villains, and ſo by fraud to procure an erroneous judgement. It is worthy of notice alſo, that theſe 71 Elders, or Princes of the Tribes, who had the ſupremacie of judgement, were not eligible by the King, and ſo the more obnoxious to his Commands; but did inherite this dignity; and for that cauſe were extirpated by *Herod*, as the main obſtacle to his Tyrannie.

Beſides, though the children of *Iſrael* had abandoned God for their chief Ruler, yet God, out of his unſpeakable grace, did not utterly caſt them out of his protection; but oftentimes did extraordinarily interpoſe by his Prophets, as he had done by Princes before, for relief of his Inheritance. In behalf of *Uriah*, *Nathan* was ſent with a vindicative-Meſſage, to bridle *Davids* cruelty: In behalf of the whole Nation, groning under *Solomons* ponderous hand, another menacing Prophet was diſpatched, to repreſſe his impotent pride: And in the behalf of the ten Tribes, recoyling from the ſame preſſures under his ſon *Rehoboam*, a third Prophet was ſent, to put a hook into his noſtrils.

Laſtly, though the Jewiſh Kings, by having the *Militia* put into their hands more arbitrarily then the Judges had before, obtained greater opportunity, and not right of oppreſſing their ſubjects: Yet that *Militia* did not conſiſt of ſtrangers or mercenaries, or ſuch Souldiers as had no other profeſſion or right in the State; nor were there conſtant Armies and Gariſons kept in pay, like thoſe of the Romane *Pretorians*, or Turkiſh *Janizaries*.

And hence it is, that if *Saul*, in a brutiſh unnaturall fury, will attempt againſt the life of his ſon *Jonathan*, or ſeek to compaſſe any other thing ſubverſive to the State, he cannot finde inſtruments barbarous enough amongſt all his Sword-men for his black purpoſes, but he ſhall preſently meet with oppoſition, and forcible reſiſtance.

Thus far then, we finde in the world no prints or footſteps of Tyrannie, or of abſolute Royalty, nay, nor of Royalty it ſelf, till the peoples curſed ingratitude and folly introduced it: We muſt go beyond God and Natures Workmanſhip and impreſſions, before we can diſcover any thing but Parentall Majeſtie, or gentle Ariſtocracie, or compounded or mixed Monarchie.

Since therefore it ſo fared with Gods people in point of liberty and

and ſafety, out of Gods unſpeakable favour, under Patriarks, Judges and Kings. Now let us enquire how it fared with them under thoſe forraigne Emperours, by whom they were ſubjugated, and made tributary. *Judea* being ſeated neere the centre of the World, became obnoxious to all the great viciſſitudes of change which happened to the foure vaſt over-ruling Monarchies. The Babylonian or Aſſyrian firſt, and the Perſian next, from the Eaſt, ſpread victorious armes almoſt over all *Aſia*. After, from the Weſt ſucceſſively, both the Grecian and Roman made irruptions; and in all theſe generall periods of Empire, the State of the Jewes had its ſenſe and ſhare of the calamitie.

As for the two firſt Monarchies, there is little in particular recorded, and left to poſteritie in writing, concerning their true formes and compoſitions; as there can no Lawes be produced, by which the Subjects had reſigned all right of liberty and ſafety; ſo neither can there be any produced, by which they had preciſely compounded for the ſame. Some inſtances only we find mentioned, that the lawes of the Medes and Perſians were unalterable by the Prince; and by this it ſeemes, that the prime enſigne of Majeſtie, which conſiſts in making and abrogating of Lawes, was not reſiding in the Emperour alone, without the great Councell of his Sages. For if the King could not alter Law at his own pleaſure, there was ſome other extrinſecall power circumſcribed that pleaſure; and that power muſt be no other, then the ſame which made Law; for the true legiſlative power it ſelfe can never put fetters or manicles upon it ſelfe; howſoever *Ariſtotle* fancies to himſelfe a kind of Monarchie which he calls Lordly; and this he placeth betwixt Royaltie and Tyrannie, making it more unbounded than that of Kings, but not ſo violent as that of Tyrants. And this Dominicall rule he aſcribes to the Barbarians rather than unto the Grecians; and amongſt Barbarians, rather to thoſe of *Aſia*, than to the *Europeans*: *Aſia* (it ſeemes) being more rich and fertile, bred a people more effeminate and diſpoſed to luxurie, and ſo by conſequence more ignoble, and prone to ſervilitie.

Hereupon the *Aſiaticks* were ever extreamly deſpicable in the eyes of more magnanimous Nations, eſpecially the Greeks, for adoring and proſtrating themſelves with ſo much devotion before their Prince.

Princes. *Plutarch*, ſpeaking of divers unmanly ſlaviſh Cuſtoms amongſt the Perſians, refers that Empire to the kinde of ſuch as are abſolute, and equall to tyrannicall. *Plato* calls it, *Deſpoticall*; and *Ariſtotle* ſays, It was then very neer approaching to tyrannicall Inſtitution. We may well then imagine, That God, in bringing ſuch a yoke upon the necks of his choſen Inheritance, did it for their chaſtiſement, and out of his indignation; not for their advantage, and out of his wonted loving kindneſſe. As for the Grecian Empire, we know, *Alexander* becoming inflated with ſucceſſe, and tainted with the luxury of *Perſia*, ſoon began to degenerate from the moderation of his own native Countrey, and thoſe Politicall Rudiments which his Tutour *Ariſtotle* had ſeaſoned him withall: and we read how exceeding fatall it proved: he and his Empire both perhaps had been longer liv'd, if he had not rendred himſelf odious, firſt to *Calliſthenes*, by his inſolence; and to all other men afterwards, for his cruelty to *Calliſthenes*. This juſtly adminiſters here an occaſion to us, to inſiſt a little upon great Monarchies, in that Notion onely as they are great.

Alexander King of *Perſia*, had no more right added to be inſolent, than had *Alexander* King of *Macedonia*; but greatneſſe of Dominion did alter him for the worſe: and ſince it doth ſo uſually other Princes, we cannot but take notice how this comes to paſſe; For either the largeneſſe of Dominion doth require a proportionable Prerogative, and ſo enable Princes to do greater miſchief, and after by accident becomes a temptation and provocation to abuſe that ability; or elſe we muſt not confeſſe that there is any difference, in this reſpect, betwixt a large and narrow Dominion. Now that there is a great difference, is ſo clear, that I will not undertake any proof of it. The Scripture ever, ſpeaking of the great Monarchies of the world, penſils them under the lineaments of Lions, Bears, Eagles, *&c.* armed for rapine with Iron-teeth, Brazen-talons, and ſharp horns, *&c.* and the wofull experience of all Ages ſeconds Scripture therein, teſtifying them to be monſtrous exceſſives in Nature, and the perpetuall plagues of mankinde. Yet let not me be taxed to condemn all exceſſive Monarchies, as utterly unlawfull: for, though I doubt much, whether ever any one of them were at firſt juſtly purchaſed, or after by any one man rightly adminiſtred, without Tyranny; yet

I conceive neither of theſe things totally impoſſible; and ſo I will paſſe no judgement thereupon. Howſoever, Nature ſeems to have chalked out the juſt dimenſions of a compleat Monarchie, by Mountains, Seas, or other lines: *Spain*, *Italy*, *France*, &c. ſeems to be cut out as proportionable Paterns: and few Nations have ever proſpered, when their pride had tranſported them beyond their native Barricado's. *Hannibal*, after ſeventeen yeers War waged with the Romanes for the Maſtery of the world, at laſt ſought a Compoſition, in humble terms, from *Scipio*; and clamed that dangerous fond competition, which had either engaged the *Carthaginians* beyond the Coaſts of *Affrica*, or the *Romanes* beyond the Coaſts of *Italy*: But alas, it is ill ſucceſſe that opens the eyes of *Hannibal*. *Hanno* was before held his bitter enemy, and diſaffected to his Countreys proſperity, for ſeeking an honourable Peace with the *Romanes*, and preventing the miſchiefs of an over-ſwelling Empire: Yet by the way note, in the mean time *Carthage* is loſt, by an unpolitike and uncertain indifferency, whileſt it will neither wholly deſiſt from attempting againſt forreign States, nor yet wholly concur with ſuch couragious Generals as it entruſted with thoſe attempts: Either *Hanno* ought to have been ſilenced, or *Hannibal* recalled: The Victories of *Hannibal* are too glorious, to admit of a ſtraitned Commiſſion: things are now come to that paſſe, that, if *Hannibal* be not enabled to ſcale the Walls of *Rome*, *Scipio* is to be expected at the Gates of *Carthage*. Great Bodies cannot be moved, but with great Engines; nor can extenſive Monarchies be erected or conſerved, without extenſive Prerogatives: Gravity and Policie both, do in this keep a juſt correſpondency. A moliminous vaſt Frame, can by no means riſe into a decent ſymmetricall Pile, except there be an orderly proportion kept between the Baſis, the Conus and the Pyramis: If the Baſis be exceſſive, What is it but a deformed heap? If the bottom be too narrow for the Spire, How unſtable is the Fabrick likely to be. The Egyptian Pyramids had, perhaps, intention to expreſſe Hieroglyphicall Politikes to us, and to let us know, that though ſmall States may be molded almoſt into any form; yet great Heights cannot be arrived at, but by orderly graduall aſcents. At *Athens*, *Sparta*, *Thebes*, *Pella*, where the Precincts are narrow, the Government is eaſie; decencie requires that it be as lowly: But in the

the magnificent Court of *Perſia*, where the Crown is more glorious, the Scepter muſt be more ponderous: where the Spire is more lofty, the proportion of the Conus and Baſis muſt anſwer thereto: where Rule is more difficult, the Ruler muſt be more majeſticall. This lets us ſee how inconſiderate that great Diſpute is, amongſt Polititians, about the compariſons of this and that Form of Government, *viz.* Whether Monarchie, or Democracie, or Ariſtocracie, be to be preferred amongſt men: For, without doubt, the difference is not ſo much to be ſeen in the Forms themſelves, as in the States, which make choice of thoſe Forms.

But you will ſay, *Mighty Sovereigns may be enabled, as to all that is good; yet reſtrained by Law, from all that is evil: or, if the Law of man cannot, externally; yet the Law of God, internally, may check them in matters wicked and pernitious.*

We anſwer; Bounds are ſet, by God and Nature, to the greateſt and moſt abſolute Monarchs, as well as to the leaſt, and moſt conditionate: but thoſe Bounds ſeem but as imaginary Lines, or as meer ſtones, not reall Trenches, or Fortifications: They ſerve onely to diſcover to the Subject what his Right is, but they have no ſtrength at all to protect him from wrong. Thoſe ſlaves that are ſold, and forfeited to the worſt of Bondages, as we have proved before, have a Divine and Naturall claim to ſafety, and freedom from abuſes, as other Subjects have; yet want of ſome Politicall remedy, expoſeth them to miſeries far worſe then death, and detrudes them often into a condition below beaſts. The ſame ſlaves alſo are equally intitled to their lords courteſie, as the beſt of Subjects are: there is no ſafety nor freedom from abuſe which depends upon meer will, as an Arbitrary power, but the pooreſt ſlave is as capable of it as the freeſt Subject.

Nay, it hath been often a glory to weak Princes, to attribute that to ſlaves, which they would not to men ingenuouſly born: For, who had Offices of great Command? who had chief Honours? who had the communication of ſecret State-affairs? who had the prime ſway in Court amongſt the Romane Emperours, but ſlaves infranchiſed? What Senatour, what Officer in *Rome* had riches equall to *Narciſſus*, or *Pallas*? Who could more powerfully ſway in the Palace, or better patronize Cities and Nations, than Eunuchs,

Grooms and Libertines ? If there be any difference then betwixt the moſt ingenuouſly-born ſubject and the loweſt-purchaſed caitiff, it is onely in this, That the one hath a ſtronger circumvallation of humane Policy to ſecure him, than the other ; and that he is not left ſo meerly to divine, naturall and diſcretionary pretences, as is the other. But in wide expanſive Seigniories, no Law, no Policie can ſufficiently intrench or immure it ſelf : For, if the Prince be bad, he hath the more opportunity to do miſchief ; if he be good, he hath yet the leſſe power to govern well.

It is almoſt a miracle, to ſee a great Monarch good : and if he be, it is more miraculous, to ſee him upon the receipt of Appeals, and other Addreſſes (as often as occaſion ſhall require) from remote parts, to diſtinguiſh truth and falſhood, or to ſift the Bran from the Flour ſo neerly as it ought to be. Mark how *Solomon* begs wiſdom of God, that he may be able to go in and out before the Nation of the Jews : Mark how great a Charge he makes that little inconſiderable State to be. It was more than naturall, that *Auguſtus* (though a Pagan-Phœnix) ſhould ever know what Peace was, over all his Dominions : That little ſpace of *Halcyonian* tranquility which the world enjoy'd during ſome part of his Reign, is in verity more to be aſcribed to the Cradle of Chriſt, than to his Throne.

Change then the Scene, and ſee how the face of things varies : Aſſoon as *Tiberius* enters, ſee how the Head of ſo many ſeverall Legions, of ſo many ſeverall Nations, of ſo many ſeverall Parties in Religion and Opinion, of ſo many ſeverall diſagreeing Magiſtrates and Commanders, can be reduced to Order, or forced to do reaſon, by any one Faction framed out of all theſe.

More need not be ſaid : Where many States are ſubjugated to one Seignior, War can never be abſent ; where War is, Military rule muſt needs predominate ; where Military rule is, Law muſt needs give place to Diſcretion ; and what that bloody fatall Train is, which ever attends War and a Military arbitrary Empire, is ſufficiently known to all. What gain then is it to our Adverſaries, to alleadge, That *Alexander, or any of the Eaſtern Emperours did what they pleaſed, and ruled always uncontrolled* ? This is no more but to alleadge, That the *Perſians* were firſt conquered by the *Grecians*, and that after the *Grecians* were poiſed by the *Perſians*, and that the diviſion and enmity

enmity which remained betwixt both, ſerved the Prince as a fit means to enthrall both.

This is no juſt proof in Law, that the *Macedonians* were to undergo thraldome and ſervitude, becauſe they had over-run the Eaſt; or that the Eaſt was to ſtoop to the like endurance, becauſe it could not withſtand *Grecia*: Nor if *Alexander* did *de facto* tyrannize, cutting the Diamond (as it were) by the powder of the Diamond, is this any ſtronger Argument for the legality of tyrannizing, than dethroning or murdering of him had been for the juſtification of the ſame in his ſubjects. *A facto ad jus non datur conſequentia.* When meer force lays the foundation of Soveraignty, and where meer force raiſes up the Structure, meer force may with the ſame equality and reaſon effect the demolition of the ſame.

It is true, *Zedekiah* being bound by oath to the *Babylonian* Conquerour to remain a true vaſſal, and being forbidden to make defection, by an expreſſe from heaven; and undertaking the ſame at an unſeaſonable time, by improbable means, commits the ſin of Rebellion: But we ſee one of the Succeſſours of *Alexander*, acting the bloody part of a Tyrant in *Judea*, is not onely reſiſted by *Judas Maccabeus*, but quite expelled: And we ſee that right which the ſword of a ſtranger had acquired, was more honourably reſcinded by the ſword of a native.

Neither doth God not ſeem onely to countenance that revolt in the Jews, but to reward alſo the principall agent therein, by transferring the Diadem from the *Grecian* Race, to him and his poſterity.

The Story of *Eglon* alſo may ſerve for an inſtance of the ſame truth: And who can now look upon all thoſe goodly Provinces and Kingdoms which the grand Seigniors Scepter hath for ſo many Ages converted into Theatres of Slavery, Beggery, Barbariſm and Deſolation, and yet hold that they are no ways redeemable from that Scepter? Who can ſay, that all thoſe wofull Nations, or rather, the ſtarved Skeletons of Nations, if opportunity were offered, might not by conſent abjure their feral, ſanguinary Oppreſſour, and chooſe to themſelves ſeverall Protectours out of their own native Territories? *But the ſtrength of Cuſtom and Preſcription, is ſtill by ſome magnified, and in the worſt of Empires made the Ordinance of God, and as valid as any other divine Right or Title.* I have ſeen a whole Volume, written to

that purpoſe, yet the anſwer thereof may lye (in my opinion) in a very narrow room; for if cuſtome may make that neceſſary which was indifferent, yet it cannot make that juſt which was unjuſt, if it may change the Mode, or externall forme of ſome things, it cannot change the Nature or internall forme of all things. For example, if the *Grecian* Line have raigned in *Perſia* for ſo many generations, preſcription may have vigour enough to confirme that raigne: but if the *Macedonians* have raigned tyrannicaly; to the diſ-inheriting and deſpoiling the *Perſians* of their due freedome, meere uſage can give no ratification at all to this Tyrannicall raigne. But ſoft of this enough: I deſcend now to the *Roman* ſtory, and to the times of Chriſts Nativity, and ſuch as are ſucceſſive thereunto.

Hitherto our inquiſition hath met with no ſufficient rule, precedent, or authority, for arbitrary power; neither Nature nor Hiſtory from the Creation to the Redemption afford us any *veſtigia* of it.

Whereſoever God had a Church whoſoever were the Governours of it, whether Patriarks, Judges, Kings, Emperours, we have made a ſtrict ſurvey, and as yet diſcover no Empire ſo uncircumſcribed, and abſolved from Laws, as our Adverſaries contend for, and as for thoſe Nations which were meerely Pagan, their Chronicles are very uncertaine, and ſcarce worth turning over: I know our Royaliſts will now challenge us to prove by what particular Lawes, Liberty was ſecured, and the hands of Princes bound up in all ages, but we muſt reply, that this is more than reaſon or equity will require at our hands; if they will maintaine, *That the part is better than the whole*: if they will maintaine, *That the effect is more potent then the efficient*: if they will maintaine, *That the meanes is more valuable than the end*: their proofes ought to be Poſitive, and full againſt us, we are on the Defenſive part onely, and do convince, if we are not convinced.

Tis not ſufficient for them to ſay, Such a Nation was ſlaviſhly treated *de facto*, they muſt prove, that there was cleer Law for that Treatance: nay they muſt produce ſuch a cleer Law as extends to all Nations. Tis not ſufficient for them to ſay; Such a Nation ſubmitted themſelves to Monarchy, without any preciſe conditions made for liberty, and much leſſe without any ſuch now remaining extant upon record.

They

They muſt prove there was cleer Law for abjuring liberty, and that the force of the ſame is univerſall, and agreeable to that of God and Nature: but the main ſhelf-Anchor of our Adverſaries is that of the Apoſtle in his 13. *Chap.* to the *Romans*, there all reſiſtance to the higher power is forbidden, and pronounced all damnable, *And tis all one* (they ſay) *to be irreſiſtable, and to be abſolute.* Now I beleeve all that is in the book of God and Nature to be expreſſed for the right of Princes, is there compendiouſly infolded. Since then this was written in the infancy of the Goſpell, and during the Raigne of *Ceſar*, and was directed to the *Romans, not without particular reſpect* (as Doctor *Fern* conceives) *that the government, which was ſupereminent, or ſupream at Rome*; We will take it into more ſpeciall conſideration.

The Primate of *Ireland* in his Sermon upon this Text, preached at *Oxford, March* 3. 1643. delivers it for a ſure doctrine, (and there is ſcarce any other divinity known now there) *That no Subject may upon any occaſion take Armes, or uſe violence againſt the Supream power, no not in defence of Religion*: Now this doth much ſcandalize us for divers Reaſons. For firſt, when he ſpeaks of the ſupream power, he doth not define that which he meanes it to be; he takes no notice, how ſupremacy of power may veſt in one man, as to one purpoſe; in another, as to another: how it may veſt in the people, as to ſome affaires, in the Prince as to others. The body is not ſo the Subject of the ſeeing faculty as the eye is, yet it cannot be denyed to be ſo in ſome ſenſe.

The Prince of *Orange* is ſupreame in Military commands eſpecially in reference to all individuall perſons: but he is not ſo in all other expedients, nor in matters of the *Militia* neither, if you compare him with the whole State. *Grotius* affirmes ſupream power to be ſuch: *Cujus actus alterius juri non ſubſunt, ita ut alterius voluntati humanæ arbitrio irriti poſſent reddi*; If then *Ceſar* was that ſupreame power at *Rome*, which the Primate intended, he ought to have portrayed him according to this definition; he ought to have Armed him with power beyond all the Lawes and Rights of *Rome*; ſuch as could not, or ought not to be fruſtrated by any other right or power of the Senate and people of *Rome* in any caſe whatſoever.

Secondly, when he ſpeaks of the ſupreame Power, he doth not at all diſcriminate the perſon of the Soveraigne Prince, from the perſons

ſons of thoſe which are imployed onely as inſtruments under the Soveraigne Prince. Now we conceive, if there had been true candor and ingenuity in this learned Prelate, he would have ſhewed a little learning in this, which we hold to be exceedingly neceſſary to be diſtinguiſhed, and he knows we inſiſt much upon.

Thirdly, when he ſpeaks of Subjects he doth not take notice of any difference amongſt them, neither in freedomes and immunities, he doth not declare the *Roman* Subjects and the *Engliſh*, or the *Engliſh* and the *Venetian*, to be a like obnoxious to the will of an abſolute Lord, neither doth he declare the contrary. Now ſince he thus Preaches at this time, we muſt needs condemn him, either of great Hypocricy, or of great folly; for if he did intend that the whole people and Senate of *Rome*, had no Title to aſſemble, nor right to defend themſelves, and therefore that the Parliament of *England* had no more Title then the *Romans*, we ſay he did manifeſtly offer violence to his Text, if he did not intend ſo: yet ſince he was no more carefull at ſuch a time, and before ſuch an aſſembly to interpret himſelf for the avoyding of dangerous miſpriſions, we ſay he had not ſuch circumſpection as he ought.

Fourthly, when he ſpeaks of the occaſions of taking up Armes and uſing reſiſtance againſt powers, he ſeemes to allow of no degrees at all: if Religion be to be ſubverted, if the ruine of the Prince himſelf, or of his whole kingdome be attempted, if the attemptors proceed *ad infinitum*, yet in all caſes (for ought he diſtinguiſhes) reſiſtance is alike unlawfull, and altogether as damnable, as if the miſchiefe were not publikely conſiderable. This tenet ſeemes to us horrid, unnaturall, and againſt the light of all mens reaſon: for hereby it is plainely averred, that either government was erected for ſubverſive ends, or elſe that generall ſubverſion may conduce to ſalutiferous ends.

In caſes of obedience a difference of command is to be obſerved: all commands are not alike binding and Poteſtative, but in caſe of reſiſtance all acts of the Prince are taken to be equally authorative. If *Saul* command *Doeg* to kill the Prieſts of the Lord; *Doeg* may receive that as a void command; *but if Doeg do wickedly draw his ſword upon the Prieſts, this violence proceeds from ſo unqueſtionable a warrant, that it may not be repulſed with violence.*

Our

Our adverſaries ſometimes when we diſpute rationally, will acknowledge our grounds to be very plauſible, (this is very Dr. *Fern* himſelfe) but ſay they; *Scripture is clearely againſt all limits of Monarchy, and ſcripture is to be adhered to rather then reaſon.*

Neverthelesſe when wee ſubmit our ſelves to the ballance of the Sanctuary, and when they ſee the letter and immediate ſence thereof does not come home to our particular differences, then they are faine to retreat to reaſon. But their greateſt ſubterfuge is to lurke between ſcripture and reaſon, and to remain in a kind of tranſcient poſture, as that they may be confined neither to the one, nor to the other, nor yet to both. If our controverſies were *in credendis*, or about things that did exceed the compaſſe of humane underſtanding, ſcripture might juſtly be oppoſed to policy: but when wee are treating of worldly affaires, wee ought to bee very tender how we ſeek to reconcile that to Gods law, which we cannot reconcile to mans equity: or how we make God the author of that conſtitution which man reaps inconvenience from.

But for the preſent on both ſides, we are agreed to adreſſe our ſelves to the Roman ſtory. Rome for the ſpace of two hundred and forty yeares was ſubject to Kings: and ſome ſay thoſe Kings were abſolute: others ſay with *Halycarnaſſeus: Populum Rom: principio formam Reipub: habuiſſe mixtam ex poteſtate Regia, & optimatum dominatum fuiſſe conſtitutum: ultimo verum. Regum Tarquinio regnum in Tirannidem vertere cupiente, optimatum dominatum fuiſſe conſtitutum.*

Queſtionleſſe, written lawes were wanting at firſt (as they are, and ever were to all new foundations) and in this reſpect the Kings might be ſaid to be more looſe from reſtraints: but this amounts to nothing; for as the Kings by defect of lawes were leſſe obliged to the people, ſo the people by the ſame defect were leſſe obliged to Kings: and foraſmuch as the people where they were more contracted, and ſo might more eaſily correſpond, hold intelligence, conſult together, (as in all infant ſmall States they might) were better able to oppreſſe the King, then the King was to oppreſſe them, the meer want of written lawes was no more prejudiciall to the people, then to the King: great moderation therefore was uſed towards the people by all the Kings, only *Romulus* was too harſh to the Nobility, and ſo fell by their hands, and *Tarquin* grew intollerably

rably insolent towards all, and so occasioned the expulsion of himselfe, together with the extirpation of Kingly government.

The word *Tyrannus* had been made odious all over *Greece* long before, and now the word *Rex* is asmuch abominated, and abjured amongst the *Romans*: so insufferable in all ages were the cruelties, and excesses of lawlesse Monarchy. After Kings thus driven out, all the rights of Majesty were devolved in equity to the whole people of Rome, distinguisht then into *Patritians* and *Plebeians*: but the *Patritians* affecting an Aristocraticall form, and seeking totally to exclude the *Plebeians* from communion in government, they imbroyled the whole State in continuall warres, and contestations for many ages together: and not being able to support their own weaker, and lesser side lost all by degrees, and brought upon themselves the worst inconveniences of corrupted Democracie. For the *Plebeians* having long remained contemptible under the indurance of many indignities by force at first obtained the defence of Tribunes, and after so increased the same power, that at last Censors, Consuls, Dictators, all the chief Magistrates of Rome became subject to their check and sway. And whereas those assemblies managed by the Senate which were called *Curiata Comitia*, or *Centuriata* had the predominance hitherto, now the *Tributa Comitia* managed only by the *Plebeians* draw all power of chusing Magistrates, and passing lawes to themselves. *Quintius* therefore blaming the Tribunes for not resting satisfied with what they had already gained from the Senate, makes this sad complaint. You desired Tribunes, (sayes he) we granted them; you would have a Decemvirate created, we permitted it. You grew weary of those ten Commissioners, we deposed them. Your anger was not so pacified against their persons, though most Noble, and Honourable: we pursued them with death, or banishment. You would againe create new Tribunes, they were created. You would have the Consulship communicated to your party, as a free gift; it was conferred upon you, though wee knew that gift was very unequall to our Order. You would have the Tribune power inlarged, you would have an appeal lye from the Senate to you, you would have your *Plebeian* acts binding to the Senate, under pretence of dividing power with you, we have indured, and doe yet indure that all our right and share be usurped. It was alleadged

alleadged alſo, that even the Kings themſelves had never attempted to violate the Majeſty of that ſupreame Order, and that the whole Common wealth of Rome did conſiſt of ſomething elſe, beſides the meer Comminalty, but all will not prevaile: that which was due being once denied, more then is due muſt be now reſtored by way of expiation. Ariſtocracy ſtanding in competition with Democracy can ſay no more for it ſelfe (nor perhaps ſo much) then Monarchy can: the Senate it ſelf therefore having been acceſſory in ſubverting Monarchy, had implicitly pronounced the ſame judgment againſt Ariſtocracy. The truth is, both Monarchy, and Ariſtocracy, are derivative formes, and owe a dependance upon Democracy, which though it be not the beſt, and moſt exact forme for all nations and Empires at all times, yet it is ever the moſt naturall, and primarily authenticall; and for ſome times, and places the moſt beneficiall. Howſoever the Romans never knew the benefit of Democracy, ſo wiſely and exactly regulated, as it ought to bee; for their *Tributa Comitia*, were too adverſe to the *Patritian* Order, and very ill compoſed in themſelves for order and decency. The whole State had not any juſt influence of conſent in them by right of election or repreſentation, nor was that body of *Plebeians* themſelves, which did therein concurre to the nomination of Magiſtrates, and ſanction of Lawes, any thing elſe commonly but a vaſt, rude, confuſed, indigeſted heap of the vulgar.

This the Senators might at firſt have amended, and better diſpoſed, had they undertaken the ſame, whileſt they had ſuperioritie, or equality of power in the State: but in policie tis, as in Logick: *Uno dato abſurdo ſequuntur mille*: Little neglects in fundamentall Inſtitutions may draw on great miſchiefs in the conſequence. This time made evident amongſt the Romanes, for after many and very bloody diſputes betwixt the Optimacy, and populacy for ſundrie ages, at length the bulke of the Empire growing too ſpacious for the rule of the multitude (eſpecially ſo tumultuouſly, and diſorderly aſſembled) a contrary change begins to be better reliſhed. *Sylla* now obſerving ſuch a conjuncture of affaires, takes courage to reform this ſeditious, turbulent Ochlocraty (notwithſtanding that many gallant ſpirited men had periſht before in the enterpriſe) and though he pretend for Ariſtocracy, yet his thoughts towre as high

rably insolent towards all, and so occasioned the expulsion of himselfe, together with the extirpation of Kingly government.

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alleadged also, that even the Kings themselves had never attempted to violate the Majesty of that supreame Order, and that the whole Common wealth of Rome did consist of something else, besides the meer Comminalty, but all will not prevaile: that which was due being once denied, more then is due must be now restored by way of expiation. Aristocracy standing in competition with Democracy can say no more for it selfe (nor perhaps so much) then Monarchy can: the Senate it self therefore having been accessory in subverting Monarchy, had implicitly pronounced the same judgment against Aristocracy. The truth is, both Monarchy, and Aristocracy, are derivative formes, and owe a dependance upon Democracy, which though it be not the best, and most exact forme for all nations and Empires at all times, yet it is ever the most naturall, and primarily authenticall; and for some times, and places the most beneficiall. Howsoever the Romans never knew the benefit of Democracy, so wisely and exactly regulated, as it ought to bee; for their *Tributa Comitia*, were too adverse to the *Patritian* Order, and very ill composed in themselves for order and decency. The whole State had not any just influence of consent in them by right of election or representation, nor was that body of *Plebeians* themselves, which did therein concurre to the nomination of Magistrates, and sanction of Lawes, any thing else commonly but a vast, rude, confused, indigested heap of the vulgar.

This the Senators might at first have amended, and better disposed, had they undertaken the same, whilest they had *superioritie*, or equality of power in the State: but in policie *tis*, as in Logick: *Vno dato absurdo sequuntur mille*: Little neglects in fundamentall Institutions may draw on great mischiefs in the consequence. This time made evident amongst the Romanes, for after many and very bloody disputes betwixt the Optimacy, and populacy for sundrie ages, at length the bulke of the Empire growing too spacious for the rule of the multitude (especially so tumultuously, and disorderly assembled) a contrary change begins to be better relished. *Sylla* now observing such a conjuncture of affaires, takes courage to reform this seditious, turbulent Ochlocraty (notwithstanding that many gallant spirited men had perisht before in the enterprise) and though he pretend for Aristocracy, yet his thoughts towre as high

as Monarchy. *Florus* saies true of him: *Susceptâ dictaturâ rebus novis Reipub. statum confirmavit, Tribunorumque plebis potestatem minuit, & omne jus legum ferendarum ademit.* Nevertheless neither was *Sylla*, nor his Favorite *Pompey* so certain and true to his own lordly principles, as he ought to have been: for though they were both more daring then private men, yet they were not so confident as the Lords of *Rome* should be: and therefore tis hard to say whether they did oppresse liberty, or not settle the Principality with the greater expence of blood. Well might *Cæsar* deride *Sylla* as a man not skild in letters, nor able to dictate, when he would make no other use of the Dictature, but onely to inure *Rome* to the snaffle, and break the Senate to the musle, that an other might the readilier mount into the sadle. The body of *Rome* was now grown too grosse for a popular form, and the populacy also of *Rome* had such errors, and defects in the composition of it, that according to the judgement of *Tacitus*, *Non aliud discordantis patriæ remedium fuit, quam ut ab uno regeretur.* Tis strange, that *Augustus* should so solemnly take advise of *Mæcenas*, and *Agrippa* about the quitting of the Empire, after that he had expos'd himself to farre more danger in the winning of it, then possibly could attend the holding of it. For without the advertisement of *Mæcenas*, his own easie accesse to the Imperiall Chaire by the sword might have sufficiently informed him, *Quod multorum imperium magnitudo rerum ferre non poterat.* It had been farre more seasonable (in my opinion) if *Augustus* had entred into debate about the manner of government, and had proposed rather, whether a regall prerogative, or something more, or some thing lesse had been fit for that adjustment of time, and other circumstances.

The Romans had been sworn by *Brutus* upon the ejection of *Tarquin* never to suffer any man to reigne, or to admit of regall power at *Rome*, and perhaps a vain superstition might so farre prevail, as to make the word *reigne*, and yet not the *thing* detestable. What then is to be done? is all supremacy of one man abjured, or onely such a supremacy as *Tarquin* chalenged? And if the intent of *Brutus* be dubious, who shall determine that, but such as have the same authority now, as *Brutus* then had? and may bind now, where he did loose; or loose now, where he did then bind? But soft; three things especially touching the Imperiall Prerogative at *Rome* are now proper

per for our inquiry: Firſt what power did the *Cæſars* uſe, and aſſume *de facto? Bodin* gives juſt ſatisfaction to this: For *Auguſtus* (ſayes he) though he did craftily diſſemble, and ſeem to ſettle a colour, and ſhew of a Princely, and not Kingly regiment by pretending onely to be Captain Generall of the Military Forces, and Tribune for the Comminalties ſafetie; yet having diſpoſed of fourty Legions all over the Provinces, and reſerved three Legions about his own perſon for his own guard: and having placed garriſons in all Forts, and places of importance, he did exerciſe Kingly authority though without a Scepter, or Diadem. His ſucceſſors alſo addicted themſelves to moſt cruell tyranny, every one tranſcending his predeceſſor in acts of inhumanity, except onely ſome few of them.

2 The next *quere*, then is about the right of this abſolute juriſdiction, and upon what Law, or Commiſſion it was grounded. The *Lex Regia*, or the Law of Majeſty (as *Cremutius* cals it) did abſolve the Emperors *ab omni legum coactione*, as *Dion* expreſſes it; the principall vigor of it did conſiſt in this, that it did transferre Dictatorian power without limits of time upon them: and the Dictature, we know, was *Legum nexu exoluta*.

Now this is the occaſion of ſome diſpute amongſt Civilians, for they all grant, *That no Law, or Commiſſion could diſcharge the Cæſars from the bonds which God, and Nature had impoſed; nor from that main dutie which Government it ſelf inforces them to.* No priviledge can free any Magiſtrate from the obligation of rendring to every one that which is his due; nor can thoſe primitive rules be annulled which proportion to every one his due; eſpecially thoſe which proportion to States more then to particulars, and attribute to ends, more then to Meanes. It ſeems therefore to ſome Lawyers, *That the force of this Royall Law is to be reſtrained onely to forms, and ſolemnities of ſuch humane conſtitutions, as might perhaps interpoſe, and impede the Cæſars in the execution of their main charge.* And though other Lawyers do not allow this reſtriction, yet I conceive it very rational, for even the Dictators themſelves when they were acquitted of all Laws, yet had this Law affixed to that very Commiſſion which did therefore acquit them, that they ſhould take more care, and might be the better inabled to provide, *Ne quid detrimenti capeat Reſpub.* All things which ſtood in direct order to that end, for which they had Dictatorian power

put into their hands, (*viz.* the suppressing of such a sedition at home, or the finishing of such a warre abroad, or some other designe) might lawfully be done, any opposition of particular Laws, or formalities notwithstanding. But if the Dictator himself did walk excentrically, or contrary to this end, he was not exempted from resistance during his terme of command, nor from giving an account after the expiration of the same.

The last thing inquirable into is the date, or commencement of this Royall Law: and this also is not agreed upon of all sides. *Arnisseus* will needs referre the time of this Law to *Augustus* his reigne: but his reason is exceeding weak: *Alias enim* (saies he) *injusti possessores fuissent tam Augustus, quam Tiberius, & cæteri regnatricis domus successores, nec leges ferre novas jure potuissent.*

I shall not stand to answer this, I shall rather herein follow *Bodin*, for that he was not onely a grave Statesman, but a learned Lawyer also. Now in his judgement, and if we may credit his reading, this royall Law was first passed in *Vespasians* dayes, and he gives some proofs, and quotes Authorities for confirmation of the same. Besides others, he cites *Suetonius*, censuring thus of *Caligula: Parum abfuit quin diadema sumeret, ac speciem Principatus in regnum converteret.* Also of *Tiberius*, he censures thus: *Fœdissima servitute Rempopressit.* He cals his reigne meer tyranny, and oppression. *Bodin* therefore having defined Princely government to be either a State of Optimacy, or Populacy wherein some one has preeminence above all other particular persons, and is called *Princeps*, that is, *Primus:* He concludes that the Common-wealth of Rome from *Augustus* and his immediate successors, *Vsque ad Flavium Vespasianum Principatus dicebatur:* and he closes all with this, that from the battell of *Actium*, the State of Rome was neither popular, nor Aristocraticall, nor regall, but mixt of all. By all this we see, that our great Irish Prelate, when he sends us for St. *Pauls* meaning to the Romane Empire before *Vespasians* dayes, there to find out what soveraigne power is irresistible; He sends us not to regall power, more then to Aristocraticall, or Democraticall. I will therefore put the case stronger against my self: and make it my *quære*, what irresistibility is due to *Domitian* after his Fathers, and Brothers death. And here first, I may except against the Royall Law it self passed in *Vespasians* time, as not being the compleat

compleat voluntary lawfull act both of Patritians, and Plebeians. For beſides that the Senate had been now long over-awed, and corrupted many wayes by the acts of the Court; we know the *Tributa Comitia* are alſo totally depraved, and evirtuated by being called out of the field into the palace, inſomuch that all liberty of choice and ſuffrage is loſt, to that great convention, and it is now turned into a ridiculous ſolemnity.

Wherefore when *Nero* was to be depoſed, and all his barbarous acts of inhumanity to be accounted for, no *plebiſcitum* could bee obtained, an act of the Senate only was paſt to declare him an enemy of mankind. But I ſhall not inſiſt upon this, I ſhall grant the royall law to be a good law, and enacted in a full aſſembly of both the States, yet ſtill I ſhall maintaine, that the law-makers did not paſſe any thing to *Veſpatian*, or his ſucceſſors, but only in order to the publick good, and ſafety: nor did they grant away their owne original right, and power in themſelves, by granting a fiduciary uſe and adminiſtration of that right, and power to the Emperors. The whole body of the law will furniſh teſtimonies to this purpoſe, that the Emperour is not proprietary of his ſubjects, or hath any intereſt at all in them to his own uſe meerely.

Give me leave to frame a caſe upon ſuppoſition. Conceive that the major part of the *Patritians*, and *Plebeians* all over the Roman Empire are converted to the faith of Chriſt: conceive that *Domitian* (whoſe claime is by the law paſt to his Father) hates Chriſtianity, and being incited by his South-ſaying Prieſts, his Concubines, and paraſiticall Libertines to eradicate true Religion, and inrich himſelfe by the great ſpoyle of the profeſſors thereof, ſets up ſuch an idol, and makes ſuch an edict for the generall adoration thereof, as the *Perſian* Monarch once did. Conceive that the Chriſtians, both *Senators* and *Plebeians* petition for their lives, but are rejected, and ſeeing a number of Aſſaſins armed ready to ruſh upon them, betake themſelves to their defence, and rely upon forcible reſiſtance. Conceive further that they firſt acquaint *Domitian* with their reſolutions, and thus publiſh the juſtice thereof.

May it pleaſe your ſacred imperiall Majeſty, the peaceable and gentle principles of our pure Religion teach us rather to ſuffer moderate wrongs from private hands, then to offer the leaſt injurious violence to Princes.

Neverthelеſſe

Nevertheleſſe ſince (after all our vain ſupplications) wee ſee our ſelves remorſely deſigned to a generall maſſacre, for not obeying you againſt God: and ſince you expect, that we ſhould tamely ſurrender not only our eſtates, and ſuch other rights as are in our arbitrary diſpoſition, but our lives alſo, and the Goſpell it ſelfe (of neither whereof wee are maſters, at diſcretion) forasmuch alſo, as we being the major part of the State, and virtually that whole Community from which you derive your Commiſſion, and for whoſe behoofe alone you are bound to purſue that Commiſſion, and not to decline from the maine intendment of it: and whereas further wee have not ſo totally deveſted our ſelves by intruſting you with power, but that we are to give ſome account to God, and the law if wee oppoſe not generall ſubverſion when wee may, eſpecially we being now further intituled to defence by the extraordinary law of generall neceſſity (of the benefit of which iron law, particular men are not wholly abridged) we are compelled hereby to proteſt, and remonſtrate to all the world, that we take now up theſe our juſt arms only for defence to ſecure our Lives, Liberties, and Religion, againſt the bloody emiſſaries, which indeed from your undue warrant can derive no authority; and not to bridle any juſt authority of yours, or to attempt any thing againſt that idolatrous devotion which hath been hitherto eſtabliſhed by law. And becauſe we impute it to

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ſuch rather to proteſt us (when thoſe that ſeek our [illegible] being the greater, and nobler part of the Empire, and better devoted to your perſon, and Crowne then they are. Neither is it diſtruſt in our owne numbers, forces, or advantages that draweth theſe lowly, loyall expreſſions from us, nor is it any doubt in our cauſe: for Chriſtianity does as much lift up the heart in a juſt war, as it does weaken the hands in unjuſt enterpriſes; and the world ſhall ſee it is as far from transforming us into aſhes, as into woolves. Prefer your ſacred eares therefore, we pray you, from the ſuggeſtions of our enemies, and the

the abusers, who may render us in your thoughts either absolutely disloyall, or bestially servile, and doe usually traduce our Religion as being utterly inconsistent either with duty, or magnanimity. Let it bee a confutation to them at this present, that we doe neither derogate in this case from your Majesties prerogative, nor utterly renounce our owne interests: and yet that we doe rather fore-judge our selves, inasmuch as though we doe not disclaim, yet we forbeare to claime a right of establishing true Religion, and abolishing idolatry; as also of bringing your seducers to condigne punishment. And thus far wee condiscend in all humility for our blessed Religions sake, that that may be liable to no aspersions, as if it had any causality in this war, and that you may receive in the better apprehension, and reliso of the profession from the humble comportment of the professors. It is not in us to set an end to these broyles because we have no prevalence with you to gaine just satisfaction from you, but it is in you without all impediment to quiet our party, in regard that we fight not now for a well being, but a meer being: not that Paganisme may be subverted, but that Christianity may subsist: all our conditions are intirely in your owne hands, and they speake no more but this, let us have hopes to remaine safe, and you shall have assurances to remain Cæsar.

If his Grace of *Armagh* like not this Remonstrance, let him frame an answer to it, & in so doing he shall appear a profounder Scholer, a more judicious Statesman, a more peaceable Patriot, a more godly Preacher then his last Sermon upon the 13. *Rom.* did shew him. I am sure there is no man that lives in these dayes, can say I have fained an impossible case, especially when He sees two Parliaments of two Protestant Kingdomes driven to petition for their lives to a Prince that does acknowledge the truth of the Protestant Religion, and the priviledges of both Parliaments: and the liberties of both Kingdomes, and yet brings a third Popish Kingdome against them; though traiterously besmear'd in the blood of thousands of Protestants, and proclaimed against by the King himselfe, as the most execrable monsters of men. But perhaps our Primate will say that the Roman law of royalty did extend farther, and that the people thereby did conferre to, and upon the Emperour, *omne suum imperium & potestatem*, and thereupon it was said, *Omnis poterat imperator*, and *Quicquid Principi placebat Legis habebat vigorem.* I take these to be no parts of the royall Law, but only severall glosses, and interpretations of Jurists thereupon, yet all these extend no farther

Nevertheleſſe ſince (after all our vain ſupplications) wee ſee our ſelves remorſely deſigned to a generall maſſacre, for not obeying you againſt God: and ſince you expect, that we ſhould tamely ſurrender not only our eſtates, and ſuch other rights as are in our arbitrary diſpoſition, but our lives alſo, and the Goſpell it ſelfe (of neither whereof wee are maſters, at diſcretion) forasmuch alſo, as we being the major part of the State, and virtually that whole Community from which you derive your Commiſſion, and for whoſe behoofe alone you are bound to purſue that Commiſſion, and not to decline from the maine intendment of it: and whereas further wee have not ſo totally deveſted our ſelves by intruſting you with power, but that we are to give ſome account to God, and the law if wee oppoſe not generall ſubverſion when wee may, eſpecially we being now further intituled to defence by the extraordinary law of generall neceſſity (of the benefit of which iron law, particular men are not wholly abridged) we are compelled hereby to proteſt, and remonſtrate to all the world, that we take now up theſe our juſt arms only for defence to ſecure our Lives, Liberties, and Religion, againſt the bloody emiſſaries, which indeed from your undue warrant can derive no authority; and not to bridle any juſt authority of yours, or to attempt any thing againſt that idolatrous devotion which hath been hitherto eſtabliſhed by law. And becauſe we impute it to the wretched falſities and artifices of calumniators that your Majeſty is incenſed againſt us, and our Religion, and miſinformed of our intentions: wee crave leave farther to declare, that we though we are free-men, and not ſlaves, and have ſome ſhare in Empire it ſelfe, and are not meer ſubjects, will yet continue in the ſame obedience, as our Anceſtors payd you for peace ſake, if we may not be driven to extreamities. And as for our Religion, it is no other then a holy bleſſed law revealed from heaven, preſcribed for the good of all immortall, rationall creatures, more beneficiall to Princes then Paganiſme, and ſuch as without diminution of power you may ſubmit to, and caſt down your Crowne before. In the like manner alſo it will concern your imperiall office rather to protect us then thoſe that ſeek our ſubverſion, as being the greater, and nobler part of the Empire, and better devoted to your perſon, and Crowne then they are. Neither is it diſtruſt in our owne numbers, forces, or advantages that draweth theſe lowly, loyall expreſſions from us, nor is it any doubt in our cauſe: for Chriſtianity does as much lift up the heart in a juſt war, as it does weaken the hands in unjuſt enterpriſes; and the world ſhall ſee it is as far from transforming us into aſhes, as into woolves. Prefer your ſacred eares therefore, we pray you, from the ſuggeſtions of our enemies, and

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the abusers, who may render us in your thoughts either absolutely disloyall, or bestially servile, and doe usually traduce our Religion as being utterly inconsistent either with duty, or magnanimity. Let it bee a confutation to them at this present, that we doe neither derogate in this case from your Majesties prerogative, nor utterly renounce our owne interests: and yet that we doe rather fore-judge our selves, inasmuch as though we doe not disclaim, yet we forbeare to claime a right of establishing true Religion, and abolishing idolatry; as also of bringing your seducers to condigne punishment. And thus far wee condiscend in all humility for our blessed Religions sake, that that may be liable to no aspersions, as if it had any causality in this war, and that you may receive in the better apprehension, and reliſh of the profession from the humble comportment of the professors. It is not in us to set an end to these broyles because we have no prevalence with you to gaine just satisfaction from you, but it is in you without all impediment to quiet our party, in regard that we fight not now for a well being, but a meer being: not that Paganisme may be subverted, but that Christianity may subsist: all our conditions are intirely in your owne hands, and they speake no more but this, let us have hopes to remaine safe, and you shall have assurances to remain Cæsar.

If his Grace of *Armagh* like not this Remonstrance, let him frame an answer to it, & in so doing he shall appear a profounder Scholer, a more judicious Statesman, a more peaceable Patriot, a more godly Preacher then his last Sermon upon the 13. *Rom.* did shew him. I am sure there is no man that lives in these dayes, can say I have fained an impossible case, especially when He sees two Parliaments of two Protestant Kingdomes driven to petition for their lives to a Prince that does acknowledge the truth of the Protestant Religion, and the priviledges of both Parliaments: and the liberties of both Kingdomes, and yet brings a third Popish Kingdome against them; though traiterously besmear'd in the blood of thousands of Protestants, and proclaimed against by the King himselfe, as the most execrable monsters of men. But perhaps our Primate will say that the Roman law of royalty did extend farther, and that the people thereby did conferre to, and upon the Emperour, *omne suum imperium & potestatem*, and thereupon it was said, *Omnia poterat imperator*, and *Quicquid Principi placebat Legis habebat vigorem.* I take these to be no parts of the royall Law, but only severall glosses, and interpretations of Jurists thereupon, yet all these extend no farther

then to a perpetuall dictature. For the people could conferre no more on the Emperour, then what it had in it selfe; and no man will say, that the people had any power to destroy it selfe: and what end could the people have (if that Law might bee said to bee the peoples act) in inslaving themselves, or giving away the propriety of themselves? where the Princes pleasure is entertained for Law, it is intended that that pleasure of the Prince shall bee naturall, and prudentiall, and that it shall be first regulated by Law if not in its formalities, yet in its essentials. *Grotius* tells us of the *Campanians* how they did resigne themselves, and all that they possest *in ditionem Romanorum:* and hee conceives, that by this resignation, they did make the Romans their proprietaries. By the favour of *Grotius*, I think there is stronger reason, that no Nation yet ever did voluntarily or compulsorily embrace servitude, or intend submission to it: it is more agreeable to nature and sense to expound this word *ditio* in a mild sense, and to suppose that the *Campanians* did intend to incorporate themselves with the *Romans*, and to live under the same government or dition, and no other; and not only reason, but the true story makes this good: and evidence of fact, the strongest of proofes puts it out of doubt, that the *Campanians* were not at all differenced in freedome from the Citizens of Rome themselves. In briefe we may rely upon these assertions.

First, there is no certainty of any Nations, that ever they so formally did resigne themselves in Terms, as the *Romans*, and *Campanians* did here: scarce any story can parallell such particular grants of Soveraignty.

Secondly, if these be expounded mildly, and in favour of publick liberty as they ought, they can create no prejudice at all to those Nations which enacted them, or any other.

Thirdly, if they be expounded in a tortious, unnaturall sense, they are to be damned, and rejected by all people, and they remain no way vigorous, or obligatory in any country whatsoever. If the Primate have now recourse to the practise of the Christians in the first ages, and urge, that because, they used no arms but tears, and prayers when they were oppressed, wee ought to doe the like: we answer,

First, The Christians till *Constantines* time in probability were not

not equall in numbers, and forces, with the Pagans, whatſoever *Tertullian* might conceive.

Secondly, if they were, they wanted other advantages of arms, commands, and other opportunities to free themſelves. *Aug. Caſa* by fourty Legions, and the ſtrength of Cittadels, and other places of ſtrength yoked and inthralled fourty times as many in number as thoſe Legions; and ſo did but purchaſe fear for fear, making himſelf as formidable to the people, as the people was to him.

Thirdly, if they wanted no power, nor advantage, they might want policie to infranchiſe Religion, perhaps they might be tainted with *Tertullians* opinion, who thought it not onely unlawfull to reſiſt tyranny, but alſo to flie from it.

Fourthly, Hiſtory is clear, that in *Conſtantines* dayes, they did adhere to him being a Chriſtian, and fight againſt *Licinius* being a Pagan, and their Enemie. And in the reigne of *Theodoſius*, ſuch Chriſtians as lived in *Perſia*, and were there tyrannically and cruelly treated, did incite the Romane Emperour to undertake their defence againſt their own naturall Lord.

Let this be ſufficient for the Romane ſtorie, and for the phanning out of our way ſuch advantages, as the Primate, and his fellow Royaliſts may ſeem there to lay hold of in expounding this text of the 13. of *Rom.* to our prejudice: our method now hands us to our own Laws, and Chronicles, let us follow our Preacher thither. If St. *Paul* teach us that the ſupreame power is not to be reſiſted by any perſons meerly inferior, and ſubordinate: but leaves us no certain rule, whereby to diſcern what that ſupreme power is in all Countreys: our Preacher ſhould do well to let us know what he utters out of his meer Text, and what he utters out of his own imagination. *Barclay*, *Grotius*, *Arniſſeus*, all our Royaliſts beſides are ſo ingenious, as to acknowledge, that a Prince in an Ariſtocracy, or compounded Democracie is not ſo irreſiſtible, as an abſolute Monarch: nay in Monarchy they do acknowledge degrees alſo. What ſhall we think then of this Prelate, who without proving *Cæſar* an abſolute Monarch, or reducing England to the pattern of Rome, or ſtepping at all out of his Text, where neither Rome, nor England is mentioned, yet will out of his Text condemne both Rome and England, and by conſequence all other States to the remedileſſe

ſervitude

ſervitude of non-reſiſtance? The Emperour of Germany is now *Cæſars* ſucceſſor, and not denyed to be the ſupreme Magiſtrate in that country, in diverſe reſpects: yet the Electors, and other Princes are in ſome reſpect ſupreame alſo in their ſeverall territories, and may uſe reſiſtance againſt the Emperour in ſome caſes. Now if our Preacher may except *Germany* out of his Text, why not *England*, unleſſe He will appeale to ſomething beyond his Text? and if *England*, why not others? and if hee except, nor *Germany*, nor *England*, nor any: nor will refer himſelfe to any other authority but his Text, which mentions no particulars: let Him inlarge his Sermon, and be a little more ingenious, and vouchſafe us ſome account why He is induced thus to confound all formes of government, and to recede from the judgement of all Polititians. But ſoft, what have we to doe with a meer Divine? let the Monarchy of *England* ſpeak for it ſelfe, let Divinity, and Law, and Policy be admitted into this Junto, for that which is to be the ſubject of this conſultation is to be reckoned *inter agenda*, and not *inter credenda*.

FINIS.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

Errata.

Pag. 3. l. 4. r. deſire them. p. 21. l. 30. r. *Dramoclides*. p. 37. l. 7. dele the. p. 38. l. 3. r. *commune jus vetet*. p. 42. l. 1. for death r. ſlavery.

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